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## How Often Congressmen Voted in 1955, 1955-56

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*The Authoritative Reference on Congress*

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# Congressional Quiz

Third parties have played an important role in past American elections, and several have entered their own candidates in 1956. Can you answer some questions about them? Try for 7 out of 10.

1. Q--Two third parties figured prominently in the 1948 Presidential election -- the Dixiecrats, or States' Rights Democrats, and the Progressive party. Which Presidential candidate, the Dixiecrats' J. Strom Thurmond, former Senator, or the Progressives' Henry A. Wallace, former Vice President, received: (a) the greater popular vote; (b) the greater electoral vote? (two points)



A--Thurmond won on both counts. He received 1,169,312 popular votes to Wallace's 1,157,063, and 39 electoral votes to Wallace's none.

2. Q--At least three Presidents of the United States have headed third party tickets after they held that office. Can you name two of them? (two points)

A--Martin Van Buren headed the Free Soil party ticket in 1848; Millard Fillmore, the American or Know-Nothing ticket in 1856; and Theodore Roosevelt, the Progressive or Bull Moose ticket in 1912.

3. Q--Third party candidates have received votes in every Presidential election since 1836. In 1952 the total third party vote equalled what percent of the total popular vote cast: (a) .5 percent; (b) 5.3 percent; (c) 8 percent; (d) 12.7 percent? (one point)

A--(a) .5 percent. In 1948, in contrast, minor parties received 5.3 percent of the popular vote.

4. Q--Can you match some prominent third parties with records they have established? (four points)

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| (a) Prohibition party                                | (1) greatest electoral vote ever won by a third party candidate. |
| (b) Progressive party of 1924 (Robert M. LaFollette) | (2) longest continuous series of Presidential candidates.        |
| (c) Socialist party                                  | (3) greatest popular vote ever won by a third party candidate.   |
| (d) Progressive party of 1912 (Theodore Roosevelt)   | (4) put up same candidate most often.                            |

A--(a)-(2), since 1872; (b)-(3), 4,831,470 popular votes; (c)-(4), Norman Thomas; (d)-(1), 88 electoral votes. Theodore Roosevelt's Progressive party (the Bull Moose party) also won the highest percentage of the popular vote cast (27.42 percent) although fewer total votes than LaFollette received in 1924.

5. Q--One of the following third parties is active in the 1956 campaign -- the others are part of history. Pick the one that has 1956 candidates: Jobless, Pewter Muggers, Know-Nothing party, Bucktails, Poor Man's party, Readjusters. (one point)

A--Poor Man's party. Its Presidential nominee is Henry Krajewski, Secaucus, N.J., tavern operator and pig farmer.

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## CONGRESSMEN VOTE ALMOST 90% OF THE TIME

As in the first session of the 84th Congress, Senators and Representatives in 1956 turned out in force for roll-call votes. On the average, Members voted on nearly nine of every 10 roll calls. Republicans had slightly higher Voting Participation scores than did Democrats, who led by a small margin in 1955. Even when they failed to cast "yea" or "nay" votes, most Members went On the Record by announcing their stands. On the Record scores were computed on the basis both of record votes and announced stands.

### Scores

Composite scores relate the actual number of votes cast or stands recorded to the maximum possible number which each party might have cast or recorded on the 130 Senate and 73 House roll calls of 1956, and the 217 Senate and 149 House roll calls of the 84th Congress.

### Party Scores

	Republican		Democrat	
	1956	1955-56	1956	1955-56
<b>VOTING PARTICIPATION</b>				
Both chambers	89%	89%	87%	87%
Senate	90	88	88	85
House	89	89	86	88
<b>ON THE RECORD</b>				
Both chambers	93	92	92	92
Senate	95	95	97	94
House	92	92	90	91

### Regional Scores, 1956

	Republican			
	East	West	South	Midwest
<b>VOTING PARTICIPATION</b>				
Both chambers	90%	90%	94%	89%
Senate	92	90	--	87
House	88	91	94	89
<b>ON THE RECORD</b>				
Both chambers	93	95	95	92
Senate	96	96	--	93
House	92	94	95	92

	Democrat			
	East	West	South	Midwest
<b>VOTING PARTICIPATION</b>				
Both chambers	83%	91%	86%	91%
Senate	86	91	86	95
House	83	91	86	90
<b>ON THE RECORD</b>				
Both chambers	89	95	91	94
Senate	98	97	96	99
House	88	94	89	93

### Definitions

• **VOTING PARTICIPATION** -- Percentage of roll-call votes on which Congressman votes "yea" or "nay." Failures to vote "yea" or "nay" lower scores -- even if the Congressman votes "present," enters a pair, announces his stand in the Congressional Record, or answers the CQ Poll. Only votes of "yea" or "nay" directly affect the outcome of a roll call. Voting Participation is the closest approach to an attendance record, but it is only an approximation. A Congressman may be present and nevertheless decline to vote "yea" or "nay" -- usually because he has entered a pair with an absent Member.

• **ON THE RECORD** -- Percentage of roll-call votes on which Congressman makes his position known by voting "yea" or "nay," entering a live pair, announcing his stand, or answering the CQ Poll. Scores are lowered by votes of "present" and by general pairs -- as well as by complete silence on the issue. Votes of "present" and general pairs are not expressions of opinion. On The Record does not measure the effectiveness of a Congressman in determining the outcome of roll calls, but it does show how frequently he tells his constituents and the general public where he stands on specific issues. Even if he must be absent, a Congressman can go On The Record.

Pairs are used to cancel out the effect of absences. A Congressman who expects to be absent for a roll call pairs off with another Congressman, both of them agreeing not to vote. A live pair concerns one or several specific issues. A Congressman who would vote "yea" pairs with a Congressman who would vote "nay." Thus, both announce their stands. A general pair is a more arbitrary matching of absent Congressmen, not involving announcement of their stands.

The CQ Poll gives absent Congressmen the opportunity to announce their stands on roll calls. On important roll calls, CQ sends out ballots asking Congressmen how they would have voted if they had been present.

### Yearly Scores

Combined Senate and House scores for Voting Participation:

	Republican	Democrat	Both Parties
1956	89%	87%	88%
1955	88	89	88

## Voting Participation - 2

1954	87%	82%	84%
1953	89	86	87
1951-52	83	81	82

Combined Senate and House scores for On the Record:

	Republican	Democrat	Both parties
1956	93%	92%	92%
1955	92	94	93
1954	91	87	89
1953	92	90	91
1952	87	83	85

## Leadership Scores

Voting Participation and On the Record scores of Congressional leaders in 1956:

	Voting Participation	On the Record
<b>SENATE</b>		
Majority Leader Johnson	90%	95%
Majority Whip Clements	82	99
Minority Leader Knowland	98	98
Minority Whip Saltonstall	94	98
<b>HOUSE</b>		
Majority Leader McCormack	96	97
Majority Whip Albert	99	99
Minority Leader Martin	89	89
Minority Whip Arends	96	99

## Highs and Lows

Highest and lowest individual scorers in Voting Participation, 1956:

### HIGHEST SCORERS

SENATE		Democrat	
Republican			
Williams (Del.)	100%	Neuberger (Ore.)	100%
Payne (Maine)	100	Jackson (Wash.)	100
Smith (Maine)	100	Wofford (S.C.)*	99
Martin (Pa.)	100	Hill (Ala.)	98
Curtis (Neb.)	99	Hayden (Ariz.)	98
Langer (N.D.)	99	Holland (Fla.)	98
		Kerr (Okla.)	98
		Johnston (S.C.)	98

\*Based on 83 votes for which Senator was eligible.

### HOUSE

Republican: 14 scored 100% -- Baldwin (Calif.), Hill (Colo.), Church (Ill.), Simpson (Ill.), Gross (Iowa), Talle (Iowa), Devereux (Md.), Nicholson (Mass.), Ford (Mich.), Ostertag (N.Y.), Schenck (Ohio), Coon (Ore.), Poff (Va.) and Holmes (Wash.).

Democrat: 21 scored 100% -- Huddleston (Ala.), Selden (Ala.), Aspinall (Colo.), Bennett (Fla.), Rogers (Fla.), Brown (Ga.), Boyle (Ill.), Murray (Ill.), O'Hara (Ill.), Chelf (Ky.), Natcher (Ky.), Marshall (Minn.), Abernethy (Miss.), Smith (Miss.), Sullivan (Mo.), Frazier (Tenn.), Kilgore (Texas), Harrison (Va.), Magnuson (Wash.), Johnson (Wis.) and Reuss (Wis.).

## LOWEST SCORERS

### SENATE

Republican		Democrat	
Wiley (Wis.)	68%	Kefauver (Tenn.)	49%
Welker (Idaho)	71	Daniel (Texas)	58
Potter (Mich.)	72	Neely (W.Va.)	61
Capehart (Ind.)	74	Smathers (Fla.)	73
Ives (N.Y.)	74	Chavez (N.M.)	75

### HOUSE

Republican		Democrat	
O'Hara (Minn.)	16%	Lane (Mass.)*	22%
Hoffman (Ill.)	27	Eberhart (Pa.)	23
Nelson (Maine)	27	Chatham (N.C.)	30
Gamble (N.Y.)	33	Bell (Texas)	30
Scudder (Calif.)	45	Thompson (La.)	32

\*Rep. Lane April 30 was sentenced to four months imprisonment for tax evasion. He was released Sept. 4.

## On the Record

Highest scorers, On the Record, 1956:

### SENATE

Republican: 8 scored 100% -- Williams (Del.), Martin (Iowa), Payne (Maine), Smith (Maine), Curtis (Neb.), Cotton (N.H.), Case (N.J.) and Martin (Pa.).

Democrat: 8 scored 100% -- Holland (Fla.), Douglas (Ill.), Humphrey (Minn.), Symington (Mo.), Scott (N.C.), Kerr (Okla.), Neuberger (Ore.) and Jackson (Wash.).

### HOUSE

Republican: 22 scored 100%, including 14 named above. Others: Teague (Calif.), Harvey (Ind.), LeCompte (Iowa), Wigglesworth (Mass.), Henderson (Ohio), Prouty (Vt.), Pelly (Wash.) and Byrnes (Wis.).

Democrat: 23 scored 100%, including 21 named above. Others: O'Brien (Ill.) and Bolling (Mo.).

Lowest scorers, On the Record, 1956:

### SENATE

Republican		Democrat	
Potter (Mich.)	81%	Byrd (Va.)	85%
Hickenlooper (Iowa)	83	Chavez (N.M.)	87
Ives (N.Y.)	83	Kefauver (Tenn.)	91
Jenner (Ind.)	86		
Wiley (Wis.)	86		

### HOUSE

Republican		Democrat	
O'Hara (Minn.)	19%	Lane (Mass.)	22%
Nelson (Maine)	51	Eberhart (Pa.)	36
Davis (Wis.)	56	Thornberry (Texas)	42
Gamble (N.Y.)	60	Chatham (N.C.)	44
Hoffman (Ill.)	62	Patman (Texas)	53

## Absences

Failures to vote usually may be traced to valid causes, including illness and conflicting official duties. Many missed one or more 1956 roll calls because of their own illness or illness or death in their families. (For names, Weekly Report, p. 976)





## Voting Participation-On the Record Scores

## House Voting Participation - 1956 &amp; 84th Congress

1. VOTING PARTICIPATION, 1956. Percentage of 73 roll calls on which Representative voted "yea" or "nay."

2. ON THE RECORD, 1956. Percentage of 73 roll calls on which Representative made his position known by voting "yea" or "nay," entering a live pair, announcing his stand, or answering the CQ poll.

3. VOTING PARTICIPATION, 84th CONGRESS. Percentage of 149 roll calls, 1955-56, on which Representative voted "yea" or "nay."

4. ON THE RECORD, 84th CONGRESS. Percentage of 149 roll calls on which Representative made his position known by voting "yea" or "nay," entering a live pair, announcing his stand, or answering the CQ poll.

## Headnotes

\* Not Member during first session.

† Not eligible for all 73 roll calls in 1956; percentage scores are based on number of votes for which Representative was eligible.

†† Died Aug. 5, 1956.

1 2 3 4					1 2 3 4					1 2 3 4					1 2 3 4																								
<b>ALABAMA</b>																																							
3 Andrews D. . . . .	99	99	97	97						4 Flynt D. . . . .	90	92	91	94	7 Bray R. . . . .					97	99	97	98																
1 Boykin D. . . . .	66	79	68	79						3 Forrester D. . . .	92	96	96	98	11 Brownson R. . .					82	85	87	89																
7 Elliott D. . . . .	96	97	96	99						9 Landrum D. . . . .	97	99	99	99	3 Crumppacker R. .					90	93	93	94																
2 Grant D. . . . .	78	82	87	90						7 Lanham D. . . . .	93	93	93	95	8 Denton D. . . . .					95	97	96	98																
9 Huddleston D. . .	100	100	99	99						2 Pilcher D. . . . .	75	85	84	90	2 Halleck R. . . . .					84	85	83	85																
8 Jones D. . . . .	97	97	98	98						1 Preston D. . . . .	74	84	81	89	6 Harden R. . . . .					93	95	97	97																
5 Rains D. . . . .	85	89	91	93						6 Vinson D. . . . .	77	89	88	94	10 Harvey R. . . . .					99	100	99	100																
4 Roberts D. . . . .	97	97	90	95						<b>IDAHO</b>					1 Madden D. . . . .					96	97	97	97																
6 Selden D. . . . .	100	100	99	100						2 Budge R. . . . .	97	97	94	96	9 Wilson R. . . . .					88	89	91	91																
																				1 Pfost D. . . . .					96	96	96	96	<b>IOWA</b>										
<b>ARIZONA</b>																									<b>ILLINOIS</b>					5 Cunningham R. .					97	99	99	99	
1 Rhodes R. . . . .	86	89	91	92						16 Allen R. . . . .	85	85	92	92	6 Dolliver R. . . .					78	93	81	91																
2 Udell D. . . . .	97	97	93	96						17 Arands R. . . . .	96	99	93	96	3 Gross R. . . . .					100	100	99	100																
<b>ARKANSAS</b>																									19 Chipfield R. . . .	89	90	74	85	8 Hoover R. . . . .					99	99	95	95	
1 Gathings D. . . .	96	97	93	94						25 Gray D. . . . .	93	93	93	93	7 Jensen R. . . . .					84	86	89	90																
4 Harris D. . . . .	97	99	97	99						21 Mack D. . . . .	95	95	92	94	4 LeCompte R. . . .					99	100	99	100																
5 Hays D. . . . .	95	96	90	92						15 Mason R. . . . .	75	84	77	85	1 Schwengel R. . .					93	95	92	95																
2 Mills D. . . . .	99	99	99	99						24 Price D. . . . .	95	99	97	99	2 Talle R. . . . .					100	100	95	95																
6 Norrell D. . . . .	93	95	92	94						14 Vacancy. . . . .					<b>KANSAS</b>																								
3 Trimble D. . . . .	97	97	99	99						20 Simpson R. . . . .	100	100	98	98	1 Avery R. . . . .					95	96	88	94																
<b>CALIFORNIA</b>																									22 Springer R. . . .	99	99	99	99	3 George R. . . . .					90	95	90	93	
7 Allen R. . . . .	96	99	91	94						18 Velde R. . . . .	78	84	80	84	5 Hope R. . . . .					82	88	83	90																
6 Baldwin R. . . . .	100	100	100	100						23 Vunsell R. . . . .	77	82	85	87	4 Rees R. . . . .					99	99	99	99																
2 Engle D. . . . .	90	97	93	98						<b>Chicago-Cook County</b>					2 Scrivner R. . . . .					85	85	85	87																
10 Gubser R. . . . .	85	92	79	87						7 Bowler D. . . . .	68	78	77	83	6 Smith R. . . . .					92	93	91	93																
14 Hagen D. . . . .	97	97	97	97						12 Boyle D. . . . .	100	100	99	99	<b>KENTUCKY</b>																								
11 Johnson R. . . . .	81	89	84	91						13 Church R. . . . .	100	100	100	100	4 Chelf D. . . . .					100	100	100	100																
4 McMillan R. . . .	93	96	87	91						1 Dawson D. . . . .	78	81	71	77	1 Gregory D. . . . .					81	89	81	88																
8 Miller D. . . . .	67	85	78	88						8 Gordon D. . . . .	66	82	79	89	2 Natcher D. . . . .					100	100	100	100																
3 Moss D. . . . .	99	99	99	99						10 Hoffman R. . . .	27	62	52	74	7 Perkins D. . . . .					93	95	87	90																
29 Phillips R. . . .	73	79	82	85						5 Kluczynski D. . .	88	90	90	93	3 Robison R. . . . .					97	97	93	93																
1 Scudder R. . . . .	45	64	70	79						8 McVey R. . . . .	93	96	91	93	8 Siler R. . . . .					90	90	85	88																
5 Shelley D. . . . .	58	71	60	75						3 Murray D. . . . .	100	100	100	100	5 Spence R. . . . .					92	92	88	89																
27 Sheppard D. . . .	79	86	79	85						6 O'Brien D. . . .	99	100	98	99	6 Watts D. . . . .					78	82	84	88																
12 Sisk D. . . . .	96	99	97	99						2 O'Hara D. . . . .	100	100	100	100	<b>LOUISIANA</b>																								
13 Teague R. . . . .	99	100	98	99						11 Sheehan R. . . .	81	90	85	92	2 Baggs D. . . . .					93	95	93	95																
28 Urr R. . . . .	95	96	91	95						9 Yates D. . . . .	99	99	93	95	4 Brooks D. . . . .					73	81	83	87																
30 Wilson R. . . . .	68	78	77	84						<b>INDIANA</b>					1 Hebert D. . . . .					67	82	72	90																
9 Younger R. . . . .	96	97	94	96						4 Adair R. . . . .	84	88	88	91	8 Long D. . . . .					77	79	88	89																
																				5 Beamer R. . . . .					97	99	97	99											
<b>Los Angeles County</b>																																							
23 Doyle D. . . . .	88	90	86	91																																			
21 Hiestand R. . . .	95	95	95	95																																			
25 Hillings R. . . .	81	86	72	81																																			
††20 Hinshaw R. . .	84	88	81	83																																			
19 Hollifield D. . .	90	93	92	96																																			
22 Holt R. . . . .	82	92	82	89																																			
18 Hosmer R. . . . .	88	95	90	94																																			
16 Jackson R. . . .	88	92	78	85																																			
17 King D. . . . .	97	97	98	98																																			
24 Lipscomb R. . . .	97	99	97	96																																			
15 McDonough R. . .	99	99	99	99																																			
26 Roosevelt D. . .	88	92	91	93																																			
<b>COLORADO</b>																																							
4 Aspinall D. . . .	100	100	100	100																																			
3 Chenoweth R. . . .	96	97	95	97																																			
2 Hill R. . . . .	100	100	96	97																																			
1 Rogers D. . . . .	99	99	99	99																																			
<b>CONNECTICUT</b>																																							
3 Cretella R. . . .	82	90	88	93																																			
1 Dodd D. . . . .	86	90	84	87																																			
4 Morano R. . . . .	89	90	91	91																																			
5 Patterson R. . . .	92	92	91	92																																			
AL Sadlak R. . . . .	89	89	86	91																																			
2 Seely-Brown R. . .	96	96	95	96																																			
<b>DELAWARE</b>																																							
AL McDowell D. . .	75	82	79	84																																			
<b>FLORIDA</b>																																							
2 Bennett D. . . . .	100	100	100	100																																			
1 Cramer R. . . . .	97	97	97	98																																			
4 Fascal D. . . . .	90	92	93	96																																			
7 Haley D. . . . .	82	92	90	95																																			
5 Herlong D. . . . .	89	95	86	92																																			
8 Matthews D. . . .	89	92	94	95																																			
6 Rogers D. . . . .	100	100	99	100																																			
3 Sikes D. . . . .	88	89	90	91																																			
<b>GEORGIA</b>																																							
8 Blitch D. . . . .	77	85	83	89																																			
10 Brown D. . . . .	100	100	100	100																																			
5 Davis D. . . . .	97	99	95	96																																			

	1	2	3	4		1	2	3	4		1	2	3	4		1	2	3	4	
6 Morrison D. . . . .	47	66	52	66	<b>NEBRASKA</b>	2 Chase R. . . . .	93	93	88	91	2 Fountain D. . . . .	90	92	93	95	5 Richards D. . . . .	77	78	83	87
5 Passman D. . . . .	73	77	79	83	3 Harrison R. . . . .	90	90	89	91	10 Jones R. . . . .	97	99	96	97	2 Riley D. . . . .	88	90	90	94	
7 Thompson D. . . . .	32	58	59	73	4 Miller R. . . . .	97	99	98	99	11 Jones D. . . . .	93	95	97	97	1 Rivers D. . . . .	79	84	71	77	
3 Willis D. . . . .	85	90	89	91	1 Weaver R. . . . .	99	99	97	98	12 Shuford D. . . . .	93	97	89	95	<b>SOUTH DAKOTA</b>					
<b>MAINE</b>					<b>NEVADA</b>					<b>NORTH DAKOTA</b>					2 Berry R. . . . .	90	93	95	96	
1 Hale R. . . . .	85	90	90	93	AL Young R. . . . .	93	93	86	86	AL Burdick R. . . . .	92	92	92	92	1 Lova R. . . . .	93	95	94	95	
3 McIntire R. . . . .	90	95	91	95	<b>NEW HAMPSHIRE</b>					AL Krueger R. . . . .	95	95	85	90	<b>TENNESSEE</b>					
2 Nelson R. . . . .	27	51	52	66	2 Bass R. . . . .	93	95	91	93	<b>OHIO</b>					2 Baker R. . . . .	89	92	92	93	
<b>MARYLAND</b>					1 Morrow R. . . . .	92	93	93	94	9 Ashley D. . . . .	96	96	95	95	6 Bass D. . . . .	64	64	81	81	
2 Devereux R. . . . .	100	100	99	99	<b>NEW JERSEY</b>					14 Ayres R. . . . .	97	99	94	96	8 Cooper D. . . . .	99	99	99	99	
4 Fallon D. . . . .	90	92	88	91	11 Addonizio D. . . . .	96	96	97	97	13 Baumhart R. . . . .	79	86	87	92	9 Davis D. . . . .	78	89	70	84	
7 Friedel D. . . . .	96	99	95	98	3 Auchincloss R. . . . .	97	97	97	99	8 Betts R. . . . .	97	97	95	96	4 Evans D. . . . .	92	92	89	91	
3 Gormetz D. . . . .	84	89	83	89	8 Canfield R. . . . .	90	92	65	68	22 Bolton, F.P. & R. . . . .	92	92	93	93	3 Frazier D. . . . .	100	100	94	97	
6 Hyde R. . . . .	99	99	99	99	5 Frellinghuysen R. . . . .	90	93	91	93	11 Bolton, O.P. R. . . . .	88	90	58	64	7 Murrey D. . . . .	89	90	94	95	
5 Lankford D. . . . .	90	93	95	97	2 Hand R. . . . .	92	93	89	91	16 Bow R. . . . .	93	95	95	96	5 Priest D. . . . .	67	70	83	85	
1 Miller R. . . . .	97	97	97	97	12 Kean R. . . . .	97	97	94	97	7 Brown R. . . . .	90	95	94	96	1 Reese R. . . . .	84	86	66	72	
<b>MASSACHUSETTS</b>					9 Osmers R. . . . .	79	86	83	87	5 Clevenger R. . . . .	78	78	76	77	<b>TEXAS</b>					
6 Bates R. . . . .	99	99	99	99	10 Rodino D. . . . .	97	97	97	98	20 Feighan D. . . . .	97	99	98	99	5 Alger R. . . . .	97	97	97	97	
2 Boland D. . . . .	95	97	95	97	13 Steninski D. . . . .	82	82	84	87	18 Hays D. . . . .	77	86	30	87	14 Bell D. . . . .	30	63	52	70	
10 Curtis R. . . . .	92	96	95	98	4 Thompson D. . . . .	93	96	93	97	15 Henderson R. . . . .	99	100	96	97	2 Brooks D. . . . .	66	67	83	83	
4 Donahue D. . . . .	85	86	85	87	14 Tumulty D. . . . .	93	99	94	97	2 Hiss R. . . . .	89	96	83	91	17 Burleson D. . . . .	63	71	82	86	
1 Hesliten R. . . . .	97	99	80	85	7 Widnall R. . . . .	96	96	93	96	10 Jenkins R. . . . .	88	95	90	94	AL Dias D. . . . .	95	97	93	96	
7 Lane D. . . . .	22	22	59	59	6 Williams D. . . . .	99	99	96	97	19 Kirmm D. . . . .	88	93	89	93	7 Dowdy D. . . . .	67	71	81	84	
8 Macdonald D. . . . .	90	92	90	93	1 Wolverton R. . . . .	90	97	93	97	4 McCulloch R. . . . .	90	92	85	87	21 Fisher D. . . . .	97	97	97	97	
14 Martin R. . . . .	89	89	91	91	<b>NEW MEXICO</b>					17 McGregor R. . . . .	97	97	79	85	3 Gentry D. . . . .	89	89	94	94	
12 McCormack D. . . . .	96	97	98	99	AL Dempsey D. . . . .	92	92	83	91	23 Minshall R. . . . .	99	99	99	99	13 Ikard D. . . . .	97	99	98	99	
9 Nicholson R. . . . .	100	100	100	100	AL Fernandez D. . . . .	92	96	93	95	6 Polk D. . . . .	95	97	85	93	20 Kilday D. . . . .	97	97	95	96	
3 Phillips D. . . . .	93	93	92	93	<b>NEW YORK</b>					3 Schenck R. . . . .	100	100	100	100	15 Kilgore D. . . . .	100	100	100	100	
5 Rogers R. . . . .	96	97	97	98	3 Becker R. . . . .	99	99	95	95	1 Scherer R. . . . .	88	90	85	89	19 Mahon D. . . . .	99	99	99	99	
13 Wiegman R. . . . .	97	100	99	100	37 Cole R. . . . .	75	78	79	87	21 Vanik D. . . . .	99	99	96	97	1 Patman D. . . . .	45	53	71	76	
<b>MICHIGAN</b>					2 Derouin R. . . . .	88	95	90	95	12 Vorys R. . . . .	92	93	94	95	11 Pange D. . . . .	97	97	97	97	
12 Bennett R. . . . .	99	99	97	97	26 Gamble R. . . . .	88	95	90	95	<b>OKLAHOMA</b>					4 Rayburn D. . . . .	-	-	-	-	
8 Bentley R. . . . .	79	82	81	87	27 Gwinn R. . . . .	62	78	70	81	3 Albert D. . . . .	99	99	97	98	18 Rogers D. . . . .	95	97	97	99	
10 Cederberg R. . . . .	95	96	95	96	32 Kearney R. . . . .	89	93	67	83	1 Belcher R. . . . .	92	93	92	93	16 Rutherford D. . . . .	89	93	94	96	
18 Donders R. . . . .	95	97	91	95	38 Keating R. . . . .	96	99	97	99	2 Edmondson D. . . . .	58	89	89	91	6 Teague D. . . . .	82	82	81	81	
5 Ford R. . . . .	100	100	99	99	33 Kilburn R. . . . .	84	84	78	82	5 Jarnan D. . . . .	97	99	97	97	8 Thomas D. . . . .	95	95	96	97	
6 Hayworth D. . . . .	92	96	93	95	40 Miller R. . . . .	85	90	81	87	4 Stead D. . . . .	92	92	91	93	9 Thompson D. . . . .	96	97	96	97	
4 Hoffman R. . . . .	74	75	79	83	30 O'Brien D. . . . .	88	89	86	90	6 Wickham D. . . . .	48	55	71	74	10 Thornberry D. . . . .	34	42	68	72	
3 Johnson R. . . . .	62	85	90	92	39 Osterag R. . . . .	100	100	100	100	<b>OREGON</b>					12 Wright D. . . . .	97	97	98	98	
11 Knox R. . . . .	97	97	93	94	42 Pillion R. . . . .	89	90	90	91	2 Coen R. . . . .	100	100	98	98	<b>UTAH</b>					
2 Meader R. . . . .	95	95	88	88	41 Radwan R. . . . .	92	93	77	87	4 Ellsworth R. . . . .	99	99	91	91	2 Dawson R. . . . .	97	99	99	99	
9 Thompson R. . . . .	89	90	93	93	43 Reed R. . . . .	75	84	51	64	3 Green D. . . . .	95	97	95	98	1 Dixon R. . . . .	95	96	96	97	
7 Wolcott R. . . . .	82	88	82	85	35 Riehlman R. . . . .	90	93	85	87	1 Neubold R. . . . .	97	97	87	91	<b>VERMONT</b>					
<b>Detroit-Wayne County</b>					28 St. George R. . . . .	93	96	89	91	<b>PENNSYLVANIA</b>					AL Pruett R. . . . .	93	100	84	96	
13 Diggs D. . . . .	66	68	70	78	36 Taber R. . . . .	99	99	97	97	30 Holland D. . . . .	931	961	-	-	<b>VIRGINIA</b>					
15 Dingell D. . . . .	93	93	-	-	31 Taylor R. . . . .	74	85	72	85	17 Bush R. . . . .	97	97	97	97	4 Abbott D. . . . .	95	95	97	97	
17 Griffiths D. . . . .	90	95	89	93	1 Wainwright R. . . . .	85	86	84	85	10 Carrigg R. . . . .	96	96	95	95	10 Broyhill R. . . . .	97	97	97	97	
16 Lesinski D. . . . .	99	99	95	96	29 Wharton R. . . . .	89	90	91	93	25 Clark D. . . . .	96	97	94	95	3 Gary D. . . . .	99	99	99	99	
14 Macnawicz D. . . . .	85	88	89	91	34 Williams R. . . . .	85	93	91	95	29 Corbett R. . . . .	95	95	96	96	2 Hardy D. . . . .	99	99	93	96	
14 Rabaut D. . . . .	96	96	96	97	<b>New York City</b>					9 Dague R. . . . .	96	97	97	99	7 Harrison D. . . . .	100	100	99	100	
<b>MINNESOTA</b>					8 Anuso D. . . . .	70	81	68	84	28 Eberharter D. . . . .	23	36	15	45	9 Jennings D. . . . .	93	96	94	97	
7 Andersen R. . . . .	88	88	94	94	5 Bosch R. . . . .	97	97	95	95	12 Fenton R. . . . .	97	97	97	97	6 Poff R. . . . .	100	100	100	100	
1 Andruson R. . . . .	97	97	98	99	24 Buckley D. . . . .	51	73	53	71	11 Flood D. . . . .	93	95	95	96	1 Roberson D. . . . .	97	97	98	98	
8 Blatnik D. . . . .	92	93	89	93	11 Celler D. . . . .	79	86	82	87	27 Fulton R. . . . .	90	92	90	92	8 Smith D. . . . .	90	90	89	89	
5 Judd R. . . . .	92	95	88	95	7 Couder R. . . . .	82	90	84	89	23 Gavin R. . . . .	93	95	96	97	5 Tuck D. . . . .	90	92	92	95	
9 Knutson D. . . . .	81	84	80	81	20 Davidson D. . . . .	73	79	81	86	7 James R. . . . .	86	90	73	78	<b>WASHINGTON</b>					
6 Marshall D. . . . .	100	100	99	100	7 Delaney D. . . . .	97	97	94	95	24 Kearns R. . . . .	81	89	78	83	4 Holmes R. . . . .	100	100	100	100	
4 McCarthy D. . . . .	81	89	85	92	23 Dollinger D. . . . .	90	92	87	90	21 Kelley D. . . . .	44	68	68	82	5 Horan R. . . . .	90	95	87	90	
2 O'Hara R. . . . .	16	19	58	59	18 Donovan D. . . . .	75	82	81	85	8 King R. . . . .	78	81	78	81	3 Mack R. . . . .	90	92	92	94	
3 Wier D. . . . .	95	95	93	94	12 Dam R. . . . .	97	99	95	96	13 McConnell R. . . . .	70	78	72	79	AL Magnuson D. . . . .	100	100	99	99	
<b>MISSISSIPPI</b>					22 Healey D. . . . .	831	-	-	-	28 Morgan D. . . . .	75	81	85	88	1 Pelly R. . . . .	99	100	96	97	
1 Abernethy D. . . . .	100	100	97	97	25 Fino R. . . . .	95	96	91	92	16 Mumma R. . . . .	92	92	60	74	6 Tollefson R. . . . .	84	88	86	88	
6 Colmer D. . . . .	97	97	92	95	6 Holtzman D. . . . .	95	96	90	93	19 Quigley D. . . . .	93	95	93	93	2 Westland R. . . . .	92	96	93	98	
3 Smith D. . . . .	100	100	100	99	10 Kelly D. . . . .	77	86	81	87	14 Rhodes D. . . . .	99	99	98	99	<b>WEST VIRGINIA</b>					
2 Whitten D. . . . .	86	89	89	91	9 Keogh D. . . . .	84	93	84	92	22 Saylor R. . . . .	86	90	92	94	3 Bolley D. . . . .	67	88	81	91	
4 Williams D. . . . .	93	96	94	97	19 Klein D. . . . .	71	81	77	85	18 Simpson R. . . . .	67	75	77	81	4 Burnside D. . . . .	97	99	97	99	
5 Winstead D. . . . .	93	97	91	94	4 Latham R. . . . .	89	90	91	93	20 Van Zandt R. . . . .	96	96	97	97	6 Byrd D. . . . .	82	89	86	91	
<b>MISSOURI</b>					13 Multer D. . . . .	90	93	91	94	15 Walter D. . . . .	75	84	77	83	5 Kee D. . . . .	85	86	86	90	
5 Bolling D. . . . .	99	100	97	99	16 Powell D. . . . .	58	75	62	77	<b>Philadelphia</b>					1 Mallahan D. . . . .	49	64	74	81	
9 Cannon D. . . . .	89	90	93	94	15 Ray R. . . . .	99	99	99	99	1 Barrett D. . . . .	79	85	81	84	2 Stoggers D. . . . .	96	99	93	96	
8 Camahan D. . . . .	52	74	72	83	14 Rooney D. . . . .	97	99	95	97	3 Byrne D. . . . .	92	93	91	92	<b>WISCONSIN</b>					
4 Christopher D. . . . .	78	79	77	81	21 Zelenko D. . . . .	85	86	78	84	4 Chudoff D. . . . .	92	92	90	91	8 Bymes R. . . . .	97				

## NEW LOBBYISTS PUSH 10-YEAR TOTAL TO 3,273

New registrants in 1956 pushed the 10-year total of lobbyists to 3,273.

- What were their interests?
- What were the year-by-year registrations?

Registration figures compiled by Congressional Quarterly showed that 315 persons and organizations registered as lobbyists from Jan. 1 through July 27, 1956, the date Congress adjourned. This compares with 329 registrations during the first session of the 84th Congress.

The Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act was enacted Aug. 2, 1946. It requires all persons who "shall engage himself for pay or for any consideration" for the purpose of attempting to influence, either "directly or indirectly," the passage or defeat of legislation to register with the Clerk of the House of Representatives and the Secretary of the Senate.

Many lobbyists registered twice or more during the Act's 10-year life, usually each time for a different organization. The total registrations reached 4,382 through the 1956 adjournment, but this total represented only 3,273 lobbyists because of the duplications. The law does not require withdrawals from the registration lists when a lobbyist stops working for an organization.

The breakdown by category of the 3,273 lobbyists: individuals, 2,794; law and public relations firms, 147; organizations, 332.

The 315 registrations added in 1956 to the lobby rolls represented 191 new registrants: individuals, 131; law and public relations firms, 19; organizations, 41. The one-year high for registrations was 731 in 1947, the first full year of the Act's operation, while the low was 204 in 1952. (See accompanying registration chart.)

### Lobbyists' Interests

Lobbyists' wages and expenses varied as widely as their interests during the second session of Congress.

Robert M. Burr, registered for the National Electrical Manufacturers Assn., listed his salary and expenses as \$30,000 annually. John A. Reynolds of the Western Cotton Growers said he would receive \$24,000 in compensation and expenses. Many lobbyists said on their registration forms that they worked for no compensation.

The company working for the most lobby groups in 1956 was the law firm of Covington & Burling of Washington, D.C. It had 15 registrations in 1956. Former Secretary of State Dean Acheson and U.S. Chamber of Commerce Treasurer Joel Barlow are among its attorneys.

The group employing the most lobbyists was the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen (Ind.), with seven registered for 1956. The Brotherhood was interested in passage of bills to amend the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 by increasing pension benefits. Congress July 23 passed a bill to provide an increase in benefits estimated at \$10 a month. (Weekly Report, p. 902)

### Registration Totals

The Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act of 1946 requires the registration of all persons attempting to influence federal legislation. The year-by-year picture of total registrations since the law was enacted:

YEAR	REGISTRATIONS	YEAR	REGISTRATIONS
1946*	222	1951	342
1947	731	1952	204
1948	447	1953	296
1949	599	1954	413
1950	430	1955	383
		1956**	315
TOTAL . . . . .			4,382

\*Last four months only.

\*\*From Jan. 1 through July 27.

A spokesman for the group said it had "difficulty in getting hearings going" on increased pensions. He said the high number of registrations was due to bringing state representatives of the union to Washington to talk to legislators from their home state. He said this was an "effective lobbying technique."

### Congressmen Lobbyists

Six former Congressmen were employed as lobbyists in 1956 to attempt to influence legislation. Registrations showed the ex-lawmakers and their employers included:

Ex-Rep. Alfred J. Elliott (D Calif., 1937-49), County of Tulare, Visalia, Calif.; ex-Rep. J. Hardin Peterson (D Fla., 1933-51), Peoples Lobby Inc., Washington, D.C.; ex-Sen. James P. Kem (R Mo., 1947-53), Washington Gas Light Co., Washington, D.C.

Former Senate Democratic Leader Scott W. Lucas (D Ill., 1939-51) filed for the State Loan & Finance Corp. of Washington, D.C., Republic of Panama, Panama City, Panama and the Bicycle Manufacturing Assn. of America of New York, N.Y.; ex-Sen. Francis J. Myers (D Pa., House 1939-45, Senate 1945-51) filed for Transamerica of San Francisco, Calif. Myers died July 5.

Ex-Sen. Burton K. Wheeler (D Mont., 1923-47) filed for the Montana Power Co., Butte, Mont., Pacific Power & Light Co., Portland, Ore. and the Washington Water-Power Co., Spokane, Wash. Ex-Rep. Harry L. Towe (R N.J., 1943-51) filed for Associated Railroads of New Jersey, Pennsylvania Station New York, N.Y.

Perhaps 1956's most unique lobby registration was that of Michael P. Egan, "philosopher and philosophical consultant" of Warrensville, Ill. Egan said his legislative interest was "to serve as lobbyist in the public interest, promoting the general welfare of the U.S. and its citizens."



## RESIGNATION SPOTLIGHTS SUPREME COURT

Associate Justice Sherman Minton Sept. 7 announced his resignation from the United States Supreme Court effective Oct. 15, giving President Eisenhower an opportunity to make his third appointment to the court. Although there is some precedent for withholding such an appointment (which must be confirmed by the Senate) until the new Congress meets in January, the President could make a recess appointment either before or after the Presidential election on Nov. 6. Should he be defeated in his bid for re-election yet send a Court appointment to the Senate after Congress meets but before the Jan. 20 inauguration, there is some question whether the Senate would act to confirm.

### Background

Since the Supreme Court was established in 1789, a total of 122 appointments have been forwarded to the Senate for confirmation (see chart). These involved 113 separate appointees, some of whom were nominated more than once. Of these 113, only 93 have been confirmed and have accepted. These included Edwin M. Stanton, who died four days after confirmation and never sat on the Court, and Associate Justices Edward D. White, Charles Evans Hughes and Harlan F. Stone, who later were nominated to be Chief Justices. Thus only 89 men have served on the Court in 167 years.

Seven appointees were confirmed but declined to accept: Robert H. Harrison; William Cushing, an Associate Justice who declined appointment as Chief Justice; John Jay, the first Chief Justice who resigned and later declined re-appointment; Levi Lincoln; John Quincy Adams; William Smith; and Roscoe Conkling, the last to decline after confirmation, in 1882.

Another nine appointments have been rejected by the Senate: John Rutledge, a member of the first Court whose appointment as Chief Justice was rejected; Alexander Wolcott, John C. Spencer, George W. Woodward, Jeremiah S. Black, Ebenezer R. Hoar, William B. Hornblower, Wheeler H. Peckham, and John J. Parker, whose nomination by President Hoover in 1930 was the last to be rejected. Parker, a Federal Circuit Court Judge from North Carolina and a Republican, is among those mentioned for the Minton vacancy.

Another dozen appointments either were not acted on or were withdrawn or both: John J. Crittenden, Roger B. Taney (later nominated to be Chief Justice and confirmed), Reuben H. Walworth, Edward King, John M. Read, Edward A. Bradford, George E. Badger, William C. Micou, Henry Stanbery, George H. Williams, Caleb Cushing and Stanley Matthews (later reappointed and confirmed).

### Effects of Elections

On Jan. 20, 1801, after the election of Democrat Thomas Jefferson, the Federalist President John Adams nevertheless nominated John Marshall to be Chief Justice.

Marshall was confirmed Jan. 21, although Jefferson was opposed to him. On Feb. 13, the Federalist Congress enacted a new law reducing the number of Supreme Court Justices from six to five and setting up 16 new Circuit Court judgeships. By March 2, two days before Jefferson's inauguration, the Senate had confirmed all of President Adams' appointments, who were dubbed "Midnight Judges" by the Democrats.

In September, 1828, Associate Justice Robert Trimble died. President John Quincy Adams, defeated on Nov. 4 by Democrat Andrew Jackson, offered the vacancy to Henry Clay, who declined it and urged the appointment of John J. Crittenden of Kentucky. Adams nominated Crittenden Dec. 17, but the Senate, controlled by Democrats, voted Feb. 12, 1829 to postpone action on the appointment. Jackson took office March 4 and proceeded to name John McLean of Ohio, who had been Postmaster General under Adams.

On Feb. 25, 1841, Associate Justice Philip P. Barbour died. President Van Buren, who had been defeated the previous November by William Henry Harrison, immediately nominated Peter V. Daniel of Virginia to the vacancy. Daniel was confirmed by the Senate March 2 by a vote of 22-5 after the Whigs had walked out in indignation.

In 1844, President Tyler made several attempts to fill two vacancies on the Court. The Senate refused to act on his appointments of Reuben H. Walworth and Edward King, pending the outcome of the election, when Democrat James K. Polk won. Before leaving office in 1845, Tyler withdrew both nominations and sent in the names of Samuel Nelson and John M. Read. Nelson was confirmed Feb. 14, 1845, but the Senate refused to act on Read's nomination.

On Jan. 10, 1853, President Millard Fillmore nominated George E. Badger to a vacancy, but the Senate voted Feb. 11 to postpone consideration to March 4 when Democrat Franklin Pierce was due to take office. Fillmore then sent up the name of William C. Micou, but the Senate failed to act and President Pierce named John C. Campbell on March 21.

On Feb. 5, 1861, following the election of Republican Abraham Lincoln, Democratic President James Buchanan nominated Jeremiah S. Black to a vacancy on the Court. The Senate Feb. 21 rejected the nomination, 25-26, and the vacancy was filled by President Lincoln.

On Feb. 2, 1893, following the election of Democrat Grover Cleveland, GOP President Benjamin Harrison appointed Howell E. Jackson of Tennessee to a vacancy. Jackson, the first Democrat appointed to the Court by a Republican President since 1861, was confirmed Feb. 18.



# Presidents Appointed 113 to Supreme Court . . .

	State	Date of Birth	Nominated by	To Replace	Date of Appointment	Date Confirmed	Other Action	Date Resigned	Date of Death	Years of Service
John Jay*	N.Y.	12/12/1745	Washington		9/24/1789	9/26/1789		6/29/1795	5/17/1829	5
John Rutledge	S.C.	1739	Washington		9/24/1789	9/26/1789		3/ 5/1791	7/23/1800	1
William Cushing	Mass.	3/ 1/1732	Washington		9/24/1789	9/26/1789			9/13/1810	20
Robert H. Harrison	Md.	1745	Washington		9/24/1789	9/26/1789	Jan. 1790(D)		4/20/1790	
James Wilson	Pa.	9/14/1742	Washington		9/24/1789	9/26/1789			8/21/1798	8
John Blair	Va.	1732	Washington		9/24/1789	9/26/1789		1/27/1796	8/31/1800	6
James Iredell	N.C.	10/ 5/1751	Washington	Harrison	2/ 9/1790	2/10/1790			10/ 2/1799	9
Thomas Johnson	Md.	11/ 4/1732	Washington	Rutledge	8/ 5/1791 & 11/ 1/1791	11/ 7/1791		3/ 4/1793	10/25/1819	1
William Paterson	N.J.	1745	Washington	Johnson	3/ 4/1793	3/ 4/1793			9/ 9/1806	13
John Rutledge*			Washington	Jay	7/ 1/1795 & 11/ 5/1795		12/15/1795(R)			
William Cushing*		3/ 1/1732	Washington	Jay	1/26/1796	1/27/1796	2/ 2/1796(D)			
Samuel Chase	Md.	4/17/1741	Washington	Blair	1/26/1796	1/27/1796			6/19/1811	15
Oliver Ellsworth*	Conn.	4/29/1745	Washington	Jay	3/ 3/1796	3/ 4/1796		9/30/1800	11/26/1807	4
Bushrod Washington	Va.	6/ 5/1762	Adams	Wilson	9/29/1798 & 12/19/1798	12/20/1798			11/26/1829	31
Alfred Moore	N.C.	5/21/1755	Adams	Iredell	10/20/1799 & 12/ 6/1799	12/10/1799		March, 1804	10/15/1810	4
John Jay*			Adams	Ellsworth	12/18/1800	12/19/1800	1/ 2/1801(D)			
John Marshall*	Va.	9/24/1755	Adams	Ellsworth	1/20/1801	1/27/1801			7/ 6/1835	34
William Johnson	S.C.	12/27/1771	Jefferson	Moore	3/22/1804	3/24/1804			8/ 4/1834	30
Henry B. Livingston	N.Y.	11/26/1757	Jefferson	Paterson	11/10/1806 & 12/13/1806	12/17/1806			3/18/1823	16
Thomas Todd	Ky.	1/23/1765	Jefferson	New Seat	2/28/1807	3/ 3/1807			2/ 7/1826	18
Levi Lincoln	Mass.	5/15/1749	Madison	Cushing	1/ 2/1811	1/ 3/1811	1/20/1811(D)		4/14/1820	
Alexander Wolcott	Conn.	11/12/1775	Madison	Cushing	2/ 4/1811		2/13/1811(R)			
John Quincy Adams	Mass.	7/11/1767	Madison	Cushing	2/21/1811	2/22/1811	April, 1811(D)		2/23/1848	
Joseph Story	Mass.	9/18/1779	Madison	Cushing	11/15/1811	11/18/1811			9/10/1845	33
Gabriel Duval	Md.	12/ 6/1752	Madison	Chase	11/15/1811	11/18/1811		Jan., 1835	3/ 6/1844	22
Smith Thompson	N.Y.	1/17/1768	Monroe	Livingston	9/ 1/1823 & 12/ 8/1823	12/ 9/1823			12/18/1843	20
Robert Trimble	Ky.	1777	J.Q. Adams	Todd	4/11/1826	5/ 9/1826			8/25/1828	2
John J. Crittenden	Ky.	9/10/1787	J.Q. Adams	Trimble	12/17/1828		2/12/1829(P)		7/26/1863	
John McLean	Ohio	3/11/1785	Jackson	Trimble	3/16/1829	3/ 7/1829			4/ 4/1861	32
Henry Baldwin	Pa.	1/14/1780	Jackson	Washington	1/ 4/1830	1/ 6/1830			4/21/1844	14
James M. Wayne	Ga.	1790	Jackson	Johnson	1/ 7/1835	1/ 9/1835			7/ 5/1867	32
Roger B. Taney	Md.	3/17/1777	Jackson	Duval	1/15/1835		3/ 3/1835(F)			
Roger B. Taney*			Jackson	Marshall	12/28/1835	3/15/1836			10/12/1864	28
Philip P. Barbour	Va.	5/25/1783	Jackson	Duval	12/28/1835	3/15/1836			2/25/1841	4
William Smith	Ala.	1762	Jackson	New Seat	3/ 3/1837	3/ 8/1837	March, 1837(D)		6/10/1840	
John Catron	Tenn.	1786	Jackson	New Seat	3/ 3/1837	3/ 8/1837			5/30/1865	28
John McKinley	Ala.	5/ 1/1780	Van Buren	New Seat	4/22/1837 & 9/18/1837	9/25/1837			7/19/1852	15
Peter V. Daniel	Va.	4/24/1784	Van Buren	Barbour	2/26/1841	3/ 2/1841			5/30/1860	19
John C. Spencer	N.Y.	1/ 8/1788	Tyler	Thompson	1/ 9/1844		1/31/1844(R)		5/18/1855	
Reuben H. Walworth	N.Y.	10/26/1788	Tyler	Thompson	3/13/1844		6/17/1844(W)		11/27/1867	
Edward King	Pa.	1/31/1794	Tyler	Baldwin	6/ 5/1844		6/15/1844(P)			
Samuel Nelson	N.Y.	11/10/1792	Tyler	Thompson	12/ 4/1844		2/ 7/1845(W)		5/ 8/1873	
John M. Read	Pa.	2/21/1797	Tyler	Baldwin	2/14/1845	2/14/1845		11/28/1872	12/13/1873	27
George W. Woodward	Pa.	3/26/1809	Polk	Baldwin	2/ 7/1845	No action			11/29/1874	
Levi Woodbury	N.H.	12/22/1789	Polk	Story	12/23/1845		1/22/1846(R)		5/10/1875	
Robert C. Grier	Pa.	3/ 5/1794	Polk	Baldwin	9/20/1845 & 12/23/1845	1/ 3/1846			9/ 4/1851	5
Benjamin R. Curtis	Mass.	11/ 4/1809	Fillmore	Woodbury	8/ 3/1846	8/ 4/1846		1/31/1870	9/26/1870	23
Edward A. Bradford	La.	9/27/1813	Fillmore	McKinley	9/22/1851 & 12/11/1851	12/29/1851		9/ 1/1857	9/15/1874	6
George E. Badger	N.C.	4/13/1795	Fillmore	McKinley	8/16/1852	No action				
William C. Micou	La.	1806	Fillmore	McKinley	1/10/1853		2/11/1853(P)		5/11/1866	
John A. Campbell	Ala.	6/24/1811	Pierce	McKinley	2/24/1853	No action				
Nathan Clifford	Maine	8/18/1803	Buchanan	Curtis	3/21/1853	3/25/1853		April, 1861	3/13/1889	8
Jeremiah S. Black	Pa.	1/10/1810	Buchanan	Daniel	12/ 9/1857	1/12/1858			7/25/1881	23
Naoh H. Swayne	Ohio	12/ 7/1804	Lincoln	McClain	2/ 5/1861		2/21/1861(R)		8/19/1883	
Samuel F. Miller	Iowa	4/ 5/1816	Lincoln	Daniel	1/21/1862	1/24/1862		1/21/1881	6/ 8/1884	18
David Davis	Ill.	3/ 9/1815	Lincoln	Campbell	7/16/1862	7/16/1862			10/14/1890	28
Stephen J. Field	Calif.	11/ 4/1816	Lincoln	New Seat	10/17/1862 & 12/ 1/1862	3/10/1863		3/ 4/1877	6/26/1886	14
Salmon P. Chase*	Ohio	1/13/1808	Lincoln	Taney	12/ 6/1863	12/ 6/1864		12/ 1/1897	4/ 9/1899	34
									5/ 7/1873	8

## ... But Only 89 Were Seated in 167 Years

	State	Date of Birth	Nominated by	To Replace	Date of Appointment	Date Confirmed	Other Action	Date Resigned	Date of Death	Years of Service
Henry Stanbery	Ohio	2/20/1803	Johnson	Catron	4/16/1866	No action			6/26/1881	
Ebenezer R. Hoar	Mass.	2/21/1816	Grant	New Seat	12/15/1869		2/ 3/1870(R)		1/31/1895	
Edwin M. Stanton	Pa.	12/19/1814	Grant	Grier	12/20/1869	12/20/1869			12/24/1869	
William Strong	Pa.	3/ 6/1806	Grant	Grier	2/ 7/1870	2/18/1870		12/14/1880	8/19/1895	10
Joseph P. Bradley	N.J.	3/14/1813	Grant	New Seat	2/ 7/1870	3/21/1870			1/22/1892	21
Ward Hunt	N.Y.	6/14/1810	Grant	Nelson	12/11/1872	12/11/1872		1/ 7/1882	3/24/1886	9
George H. Williams*	Ore.	3/23/1823	Grant	Chase	12/ 1/1873		1/ 8/1874(W)		4/ 4/1910	
Caleb Cushing*	Mass.	1/17/1800	Grant	Chase	1/ 9/1874		1/13/1874(W)		1/ 2/1879	
Morrison R. Waite*	Ohio	1/29/1816	Grant	Chase	1/19/1874	1/21/1874			3/23/1888	14
John M. Harlan	Ky.	6/ 1/1833	Hayes	Davis	3/29/1877 & 10/17/1877	11/29/1877			10/14/1911	34
William B. Woods	Ga.	8/ 3/1824	Hayes	Strong	12/15/1880	12/21/1880			5/14/1887	6
Stanley Matthews	Ohio	7/21/1824	Hayes	Swayne	1/26/1881	No action				
Stanley Matthews			Garfield	Swayne	3/14/1881	5/12/1881			3/22/1889	7
Horace Gray	Mass.	3/24/1828	Arthur	Clifford	12/19/1881	12/20/1881		7/ 9/1902	9/15/1902	20
Roscoe Conkling	N.Y.	10/30/1829	Arthur	Hunt	2/24/1882	3/ 2/1882	March, 1882(D)		4/18/1888	
Samuel Blatchford	N.Y.	3/ 9/1820	Arthur	Hunt	3/13/1882	3/27/1882			7/ 7/1893	11
Lucius Q.C. Lamar	Miss.	9/17/1825	Cleveland	Woods	12/ 6/1887	1/16/1888			1/24/1893	5
Melville W. Fuller*	Ill.	2/11/1833	Cleveland	Waite	5/ 2/1888	7/20/1888			7/ 4/1910	21
David J. Brewer	Kan.	1/20/1837	Harrison	Matthews	12/ 4/1889	12/18/1889			3/28/1910	20
Henry B. Brown	Mich.	3/21/1836	Harrison	Miller	12/23/1890	12/29/1890		5/28/1906	9/ 4/1913	15
George Shiras, Jr.	Pa.	1/26/1832	Harrison	Bradley	7/19/1892	7/26/1892		2/23/1903	8/21/1924	10
Howell E. Jackson	Tenn.	4/ 8/1832	Harrison	Lamar	2/ 2/1893	2/18/1893			8/ 8/1895	2
William B. Hornblower	N.Y.	5/13/1851	Cleveland	Blatchford	9/19/1893		1/15/1894(R)		6/16/1914	
Wheeler H. Peckham	N.Y.	1/ 1/1833	Cleveland	Blatchford	1/22/1894		2/16/1894(R)		9/27/1905	
Edward D. White	La.	3/ 3/1845	Cleveland	Blatchford	2/19/1894	2/19/1894				16
Rufus W. Peckham	N.Y.	11/ 8/1838	Cleveland	Jackson	12/ 3/1895	12/ 9/1895			10/24/1909	13
Joseph McKenna	Calif.	8/10/1843	McKinley	Field	12/16/1897	1/21/1898		1/ 5/1925	11/21/26	26
Oliver W. Holmes	Mass.	3/ 8/1841	Roosevelt	Gray	8/11/1902 & 12/ 2/1902	12/ 4/1902		1/12/1932	3/ 6/1935	29
William R. Day	Ohio	4/17/1849	Roosevelt	Shiras	2/19/1903	2/23/1903		11/13/1922	7/ 9/1923	19
William H. Moody	Mass.	12/23/1853	Roosevelt	Brown	12/ 3/1906	12/12/1906		11/20/1910	7/ 2/1917	3
Horace H. Lurton	Tenn.	2/26/1844	Taft	Peckham	12/13/1909	12/20/1909			7/12/1914	4
Edward D. White*			Taft	Fuller	12/12/1910	12/12/1910			5/19/1921	10
Charles E. Hughes	N.Y.	4/11/1862	Taft	Brewer	4/25/1910	5/2/1910		6/10/1916		5
Willis Van Devanter	Wyo.	4/17/1859	Taft	Moody	12/12/1910	12/15/1910		6/ 2/1937†	2/ 8/1941	26
Joseph R. Lamar	Ga.	10/14/1857	Taft	White	12/12/1910	12/15/1910			1/ 2/1916	5
Mahlon Pitney	N.J.	2/ 5/1858	Taft	Harlan	2/19/1912	3/13/1912		12/31/1922	12/ 9/1924	10
James C. McReynolds	Tenn.	2/ 3/1862	Wilson	Lurton	8/19/1914	8/29/1914		1/31/1941	8/24/1946	26
Louis D. Brandeis	Mass.	11/13/1856	Wilson	Lamar	1/28/1916	6/ 1/1916		2/13/1939†	10/ 5/1941	22
John H. Clarke	Ohio	9/18/1857	Wilson	Hughes	7/14/1916	7/24/1916		9/18/1922	3/22/1945	5
William H. Taft*	Conn.	9/15/1857	Harding	White	6/30/1921	6/30/1921		2/ 3/1930	3/ 8/1930	8
George Sutherland	Utah	3/25/1862	Harding	Clarke	9/ 5/1922	9/ 5/1922		1/17/1938†	7/18/1942	15
Pierce Butler	Minn.	3/17/1866	Harding	Day	11/23/1922	12/21/1922			11/16/1939	16
Edward T. Sanford	Tenn.	7/23/1865	Harding	Pitney	1/24/1923	1/29/1923			3/ 8/1930	7
Harlan F. Stone	N.Y.	10/11/1872	Coolidge	McKenna	1/ 5/1925	2/ 5/1925				16
Charles E. Hughes*	N.Y.	4/11/1862	Hoover	Taft	2/ 3/1930	2/13/1930		7/ 1/1941	8/27/1948	11
John J. Parker	N.C.		Hoover	Sanford	3/21/1930		5/ 7/1930(R)			
Owen J. Roberts	Pa.	5/ 2/1875	Hoover	Sanford	5/ 9/1930	5/20/1930		7/31/1945	5/19/1955	15
Benjamin N. Cardozo	N.Y.	5/24/1870	Hoover	Holmes	2/15/1932	2/24/1932			July 9, 1938	6
Hugo L. Black	Ala.	2/27/1886	Roosevelt	Van Devanter	8/12/1937	8/17/1937				
Stanley F. Reed	Ky.	12/31/1884	Roosevelt	Sutherland	1/15/1938	1/25/1938				
Felix Frankfurter	Mass.	11/15/1882	Roosevelt	Cardozo	1/ 5/1939	1/17/1939				
William O. Douglas	Conn.	10/16/1898	Roosevelt	Brandeis	3/20/1939	4/ 4/1939				
Frank Murphy	Mich.	4/13/1890	Roosevelt	Butler	1/ 4/1940	1/15/1940			7/19/1949	9
Harlan F. Stone*			Roosevelt	Hughes	6/12/1941	6/27/1941			4/22/1946	5
James F. Byrnes	S.C.	1879	Roosevelt	Stone	6/12/1941			10/ 3/1942		1
Robert H. Jackson	N.Y.	2/13/1892	Roosevelt	McReynolds	6/12/1941	7/ 7/1941			10/ 9/1954	12
Wiley B. Rutledge	Iowa	7/20/1894	Roosevelt	Byrnes	1/11/1943	2/ 8/1943			9/10/1949	6
Harold H. Burton	Ohio	6/22/1888	Truman	Roberts	9/18/1945	9/19/1945				
Fred M. Vinson*	Ky.	1/22/1890	Truman	Stone	6/ 6/1946	6/20/1946			9/ 8/1953	7
Tom C. Clark	Texas	9/23/1899	Truman	Murphy	8/ 2/1949	8/18/1949				
Sherman Minton	Ind.	10/20/1890	Truman	Rutledge	9/15/1949	10/ 4/1949		10/15/1956†		8
Earl Warren*	Calif.	3/19/1891	Eisenhower	Vinson	9/30/1953	3/ 1/1954				
John M. Harlan	N.Y.	1899	Eisenhower	Jackson	1/10/1955	3/16/1955				

D -- Declined	P -- Postponed
W -- Withdrawn	* -- Chief Justice
R -- Rejected	† -- Retired

## NGORC CONTRIBUTIONS

Seven oil and gas companies have admitted to contributing more than \$900,000 to the Natural Gas and Oil Resources Committee to fight for passage of the natural gas bill (HR 6645). (Weekly Report, p. 165)

Leonard F. McCollum of Houston, Texas, chairman of the NGORC Committee, June 14 at hearings of the Special Senate Committee to Investigate Corrupt Practices said the expenditures of the Committee "beginning in 1954" and continuing "to date" had totaled \$1,753,513.70. He said a total of 1,259 individuals and corporate contributors voluntarily had supplied the money.

Frank O. Prior, president of Standard Oil of Indiana, Sept. 11 told the Committee his company's subsidiary, Stanolin Oil and Gas Co., had contributed \$100,000 to the NGORC. On the same day, T.S. Peterson, Standard Oil Co. of California; H.S.M. Burns, Shell Oil Co.; and A.L. Nickerson, Sacony-Mobil Oil Corp., said their companies contributed \$100,000, \$119,000 and \$138,000, respectively, to the group.

Sidney A. Swensrud and Archie D. Gray of the Gulf Oil Co. Sept. 12 said the company had contributed \$111,000 to NGORC. At the earlier hearing McCollum said his group had received contributions of \$175,000 from the Humble Oil and Refining Co. and \$153,000 from the Texas Co.

The \$910,000 contributions by the seven oil companies represent more than 50 percent of the total contributions received by the NGORC, while the seven contributors represent a little more than one-half of 1 percent of the 1,259 contributors. All of the oil companies said they claimed the contribution as a tax deductible business expense.

## CONSERVATIVES MEET

The National States Rights Conference at Memphis, Tenn., Sept. 15 declined to formally set up a third party and "endorsed" candidates for President and Vice President.

The 317 delegates from about 12 splinter parties in 25 states adjourned as a "National Conservative Movement." The group voted to support T. Coleman Andrews, former director of Internal Revenue, for President, and ex-Rep. Thomas H. Werdel (R Calif., 1949-53), for Vice President. (Weekly Report, p. 1113)

Clarence E. Manion, co-chairman of For America, Sept. 14 in the Conference's keynote address called for a new party of the "political and moral right." John U. Barr, chairman of the Federation for Constitutional Government, and program chairman for the meeting, Sept. 15 said "if we form a third party the Republicans and Democrats will kill us." He said "if you believe in states rights, for God's sake practice states rights."

Conference Chairman Earl Evans Jr. of Canton, Miss., blocked the move for a formal third party by ruling that all resolutions first must be submitted in writing. The ruling was upheld by 14 of the 25 states represented. The resolutions committee was known to be anti-third party.

The National Conservative Movement hopes to win enough Presidential electors to keep either major party from getting the necessary 266 electoral votes to win. The election would be thrown into the House of Representatives, where each state would have one vote, regardless of population. States rights leaders predict they could win a "compromise" fight. (Weekly Report, p. 465)

## POLITICS FOR BUSINESSMEN

The National Assn. of Manufacturers Sept. 14 urged businessmen to participate in politics to counter what the NAM said was a labor drive to dominate the federal and state governments.

In a 15-page pamphlet titled Organized Labor's Program to Organize the Legislative Halls, the NAM said labor has fashioned a "political missile of massive proportions" to explode during the current campaign. NAM said labor's 1956 efforts would make prior labor political drives look "strictly bush league."

The pamphlet said business could help turn labor's political "missile" into a "dud" by encouraging management people to get into politics, by discussing broad political issues in company publications, by permitting candidates to tour plants and by urging workers to vote. The booklet said that while corporations cannot make political contributions "individuals have greater freedom and should exercise it, both in regard to contributions and activity in behalf of candidates who will be free agents." NAM president Cola G. Parker, in a letter accompanying the pamphlet, said if "the proclaimed political ambitions" of union leaders are successful "it means an end to truly representative government in the United States."

James McDevitt, co-director of the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education, Sept. 15 said the NAM charges were "ridiculous." McDevitt said "we have no desire to control the affairs of our nation." He said "we merely seek to bring about the end of the domination presently being exercised over our Congress and state legislatures by the big monopolies of the nation."

## IUE BACKS STEVENSON

The International Union of Electrical Workers (AFL-CIO) in convention at St. Louis, Mo., Sept. 1 voted to endorse Democratic candidates Adlai E. Stevenson and Sen. Estes Kefauver (Tenn.) for President and Vice President. The union, which claims 410,000 members, said more than 700 convention delegates were on the floor when the voice vote was taken on the resolution, and one opposing vote was cast.

The resolution denounced the Eisenhower Administration and said "the Big Business Administration, with its Cadillac Cabinet, has betrayed its promises to labor; has given away, at an ever swifter pace, our public resources."

James J. Matles, organization director of the United Electrical Workers (Ind.), in an address to the IUE Sept. 12, said merger of the two unions was looked

upon favorably by the independent union. UE was expelled from the CIO in 1949 on charges it was Communist-dominated.

Matles said "80 percent of those who held executive positions in the UE and who were accused by the IUE of Communist affiliation, now are holding jobs in either the IUE, the International Assn. of Machinists or the United Auto Workers' union." He said "the officers of the UE have signed non-Communist affidavits for the last nine years. That question is no issue any longer."

## AFL-CIO, ILA TO CONFER

The AFL-CIO Sept. 17 said its president, George Meany, would meet Sept. 21 with the International Longshoremen's Assn. head, Capt. William V. Bradley, to discuss possibilities of bringing the ILA into the merged labor group.

The ILA was expelled from the old AFL three years ago on charges it failed to rid itself of racketeering and criminal taints. Meany offered to hear proof from Bradley that the ILA had successfully handled the four mal-practice charges leveled against it by the AFL.

The Citizens Waterfront Committee Sept. 19 said it hoped the merged labor movement would open its ranks to the ILA. The group was formed to hear the pier union's grievances against the New York-New Jersey Waterfront Commission, and was later broadened to cover labor-management ethics and Communism on the piers.

## PUBLIC POWER

The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York Sept. 17 said "the real give-away" in modern politics is the "give-away" of the taxpayers' money to support non-self-sustaining federal power projects.

In a newspaper advertisement reprint from The Guaranty Survey, a monthly business review, the New York City investors' bank quoted statistics from the Hoover Commission Task Force on Water Resources and Power which said "federal power systems were found to have a total revenue deficiency...of nearly \$332 million." The advertisement said "the federal 'yardstick' for power rates was too short by some 40 percent; it was a 23-inch yardstick."

Clyde T. Ellis, general manager of the National Rural Electric Cooperative Assn., Sept. 18 said the financial computations, quoted in the Guaranty advertisement, "are grossly distorted." Ellis said they were based on "biased task force reporting which echo nothing more than anti-federal power propaganda subsidized by the American taxpayers for the commercial power companies."

## FARM GROUPS HIT QUOTA

The National Council of Farmer Cooperatives and the American Farm Bureau Federation, at public hearings of the Office of Defense Mobilization, Sept. 12 said they opposed the imposition of quotas on imports of foreign cordage, including binder and baler twines.

Domestic producers requested import restrictions of foreign cordage under Section 7 of the Trade Agreements Extension Act on the grounds that the domestic industry

was essential to defense and imports were damaging the domestic industry.

John J. Riggle, secretary of the National Council, said that "farmer cooperatives...patronize the domestic industry and want sound domestic industries maintained if possible under competitive conditions. As a matter of self-preservation, however, they oppose the imposition of quotas on imports of farm supplies which can have no other effect than to raise costs of farm operation."

John C. Lynn, AFBF legislative director, said "it has long been the policy of Congress to permit essential farm supplies to be imported duty free." Lynn said if quotas were imposed "farmers using twines would be called upon to bear the cost of the almost certain price increase resulting from this action."

## Pressure Points

### NEW GROUP FORMED

Former Florida Governor Fuller Warren (D) Sept. 17 was granted a charter at Miami for a new organization -- the National Assn. for the Protection of White People and Fair Treatment of Negroes. The group said it would seek an amendment to the Constitution giving each state the right to decide whether it will integrate or segregate the races.

Robert L. Davis of Fort Lauderdale is president of the group, Warren is its attorney. Davis said the group will be bi-racial. He said "we will not create a disturbance...we have no animosity toward Negroes. Davis said the organization would be financed mainly by contributions and that organizational plans are being made to establish branches in all states.

### NEW PARITY ASKED

Herschel D. Newsom, master of the National Grange, Sept. 15 said a new farm parity formula should be found. Such a new formula, said Newsom, "should take due account of the enormous capital investment in agriculture and the labor input in terms of hours of work involved in the production of food and fiber."

The farm leader said "it seems obvious to me that the present parity index is not a good measuring stick of the adequacy of farm income. We question its use as a true measure of the economic status of rural America." Newsom said the Grange would present recommendations to Congress and officials of the U.S. Department of Agriculture for consideration next year.

### RIVERS-HARBORS BILL

Marvin B. Marsh, president of the Mississippi Valley Assn., in the Sept. issue of the Association's News Letter said "plans to expedite the enactment of a new Omnibus Rivers and Harbors and Flood Control bill early in the next session of Congress are now being made. President Eisenhower Aug. 10 vetoed the \$1.6 billion authorization bill passed by Congress in the closing days of the 1956 session. The MVA head said the most vital project of the bill would be the remedial work at the Chain of Rocks above St. Louis.



## In This Section..... (Sept. 14-20)

- Subcommittee Studies D.C. School Integration
- Foreign Trade Policy Hearings in House
- Monopoly Charged in Television Industry

## NICKEL PROJECT

COMMITTEE -- House Government Operations, Special Government Activities Subcommittee.

ACTION -- Sept. 14 released a partial text of a memorandum written by Randall Cremer of the Frederick Snare Corp. of New York, a construction company that won a 1954 federal contract in the \$43 million expansion of a government nickel plant at Nicaro, Cuba. Cremer wrote that before the contract was awarded he called on Republican National Committee Chairman Leonard W. Hall June 3, 1954, and assured Hall "we have no Democrats in the higher brackets, and believed practically none in the lower." The memo said Cremer promised to "work with" Hall in placing bonds and insurance for the project "where it would do the most good" and to "do anything within reason."

Cremer's memorandum said he later called on James P. Pinkley, General Services Administration official, and asked what was holding up the contract. Pinkley replied, according to Cremer, "the National Committee," and added he hoped "we can get Hall's clearance today -- thinks now this is essential."

BACKGROUND -- A Subcommittee investigation in January and February led the Democratic majority to report that "political and private influence played an active role in the awarding" of the nickel contracts. (Weekly Report, p. 738)

GSA Administrator Edward F. Mansure resigned Feb. 6 because of "personal obligations" after Congressional criticism of his role in awarding contracts. (Weekly Report, p. 192)

RELATED DEVELOPMENT -- Hall told reporters Sept. 14 he had "never cleared any contractor, big or small, for work with the government." Any suggestion that he did, he said, was "pure bunk."

## TELEVISION INQUIRY

COMMITTEE -- House Judiciary, Antitrust Subcommittee.

RESUMED HEARINGS -- In New York City on anti-trust and monopoly problems in the television industry. Members of the Federal Communications Commission testified in Washington June 27-29 and July 11-13.

BACKGROUND -- The Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee held hearings on television intermittently from Jan. 26 to July 18, 1956. (Weekly Report, p. 741) July 23 the Committee filed an interim report (S Rept 2769) on Federal Communications Commission policy in allocation of TV frequencies. (Weekly Report, p. 898)

TESTIMONY -- Sept. 14 -- Victor R. Hansen, Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Antitrust Division, said a Justice Department investigation of the television industry "suggests that the principal networks beyond doubt have power to dominate if not control major aspects of television." Hansen said the inquiry "now focuses on whether that power has been, or will likely be, used to exclude competition." If it had, the Justice Department would institute antitrust action, he said. Hansen said there was a "striking similarity" between the TV industry and the "pattern of monopoly" in the motion picture industry broken up eight years ago. He estimated the Justice inquiry might take two years to complete.

Sept. 17 -- Stanley Adams, songwriter and former president of the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers (ASCAP), said "freedom of music has been seriously impaired" by the operations of Broadcast Music Inc., an organization founded in 1940 to rival ASCAP. He said BMI paid no performance fees to song writers when a song was broadcast and had created an "inequality of opportunity in broadcasting."

Sept. 18 -- Carl Haverlin, president of BMI, said his organization was founded "to create competition and we have been eminently successful." He "vigorously" denied that BMI was dominated by the networks.

Billy Rose, theatrical producer, said BMI was publishing 74 percent of the top songs and that "not only are most of the BMI songs junk, but in many cases they are obscene junk, pretty much on a level with dirty comic magazines." He said BMI was "responsible for rock-and-roll and the other musical monstrosities which are muddying up the airways." Rose said the best American musical talent had "an easier time crashing through the Iron Curtain than through the electronic curtain which the broadcasting companies have set up through their three-way control of the airwaves, the outfits which publish (music) and the companies which make phonograph records." He said the Subcommittee investigation was "the first important breath of fresh air in this whole foul mess."

Sept. 19 -- Dr. Allen B. DuMont of the DuMont Broadcasting Corp. said the FCC method of allocating television frequencies favored the two big networks. He said that "to prevent a monopolistic system of broadcasting, four or more networks were required." He proposed a system of frequency allocation that would provide at least four TV stations in the top 100 markets of the country.

Louis J. Appell Jr., Susquehanna Broadcasting Co. chairman of York, Pa., said the FCC was "dilatatory and inefficient" and that Congress should keep the agency "under surveillance."

Sept. 20 -- In a telegram to the Subcommittee, Frank Sinatra, singer and motion picture star, said antitrust action was needed to end "practices which create restraint and take from the artist those creative freedoms which are so necessary to his talent." Sinatra said his career declined after an official of Columbia Records, a Columbia Broadcasting System affiliate, began to choose for him "many, many inferior songs, all curiously bearing the BMI label." Sinatra said his career revived after he left Columbia for a company "free of broadcasting affiliations."



## TRADE POLICY

COMMITTEE -- House Ways and Means, Customs, Tariffs and Reciprocal Trade Agreements Subcommittee.

BEGAN HEARINGS -- On U.S. foreign trade policy.

TESTIMONY -- Sept. 17 -- Willard L. Thorp, Amherst College economics professor and former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, said he doubted that western embargoes on trade in strategic materials with Communist countries had "much security significance any longer" although they had been necessary during the West's military buildup. He said "some relaxation" of trade restrictions might be possible, "thus reducing the area of potential conflict between ourselves and the free world." Thorp said "recent trends are likely to intensify the demands upon government to raise higher barriers to foreign imports." He said "it is hard to see how we can have an effective national trade policy which discourages imports and encourages exports."

Edward S. Mason, Harvard University dean, said that to adopt a "trade not aid" policy would probably channel no more than "a few hundred million" dollars to foreign nations. Mason also doubted that a freer trade policy would greatly affect U.S. productivity.

Seymour E. Harris, Harvard economics professor, said tariff cuts under the reciprocal trade program were being borne especially by "slowly growing or declining industries," such as textiles, shoes and lumber. He said "rapidly growing industries" such as electronics, automobiles and chemicals should bear a share. Harris said that to help other nations close the "dollar gap" the U.S. must increase imports more than exports. For that reason, he said, he questioned the whole theory behind the reciprocal trade program, designed to stimulate both imports and exports.

Sept. 18 -- Paul T. Ellsworth, University of Wisconsin economics professor, said "inefficient" industries that could not compete without high tariff protection should go out of business or shift to new lines unless they were vital to defense. He suggested "gradual" removal of protection, and federal aid to help hard-hit industries. He advocated funds to train displaced workers, extension of unemployment compensation benefits and loans to enable firms to convert to new lines of production.

Arthur W. Marget, director of the Federal Reserve Board Division of International Finance, said U.S. policy should continue to be aimed at "progressively higher levels of production and trade." He said that to allow "protectionist interference" with free markets would put trade balances between the U.S. and Western Europe in "very serious difficulties." Marget said import barriers "can only be harmful and perhaps disastrous."

Sept. 19 -- Mike M. Matsaoka of the Japanese-American Citizens League said that restrictions against Japanese imports might drive Japan "into the enemy's camp." He said imports of Japanese textiles amounted to less than 2 percent of U.S. production. Matsaoka said the reason the U.S. had not acted to block imports was that "domestic industry cannot prove its case on the merits."

Dr. Warren W. Shearer of Wabash College, former government economist, said there was "an insatiable demand" for American goods throughout the world. He said it was good business to aid other countries to develop and acquire the resources to buy American products. Shearer cited Canada, England, West Germany, Switzer-

land, Belgium and Holland as countries "where standards are high (and where) the U.S. has the least difficulty in selling its goods."

Sept. 20 -- John C. Lynn of the American Farm Bureau Federation said increased trade was necessary to give foreign countries a chance to earn dollars to buy American farm commodities. He said it was "not a healthy condition" for American agriculture to have to use "special government export programs" to get rid of its products. Lynn said 38 percent of all farm exports were the direct result of government sales or gifts, and that annual exports for dollars totalled only \$2,176,000,000. He said farmers need export markets "of at least \$4 billion per year if we are to have an economically sound agriculture."

Walter A. Stilley Jr., president of a Conway, S.C., plywood company, said American plywood producers could not compete with low-wage Japanese producers. He said tariff reductions on plywood in the last five years had resulted in a 940 percent increase in plywood imports. Japanese imports had risen 3,300 percent, he said. Stilley urged mandatory import quotas and tariffs based on relative labor costs.

William F. Stoeffhaas of the Bicycle Manufacturers Assn. of America said the domestic bicycle industry has been "seriously injured" by imports since World War II. He said tariff cuts and currency devaluations have given bicycle importers "an insuperable price advantage."

Edward C. Coleman, chairman of the Luggage and Leather Goods Lock Manufacturers Assn., said "we are fearful of being put out of business under present tariff rates."

Millard Cox, general counsel of the Kentucky Distillers Assn., said American whiskey was "virtually banned" by the United Kingdom while Scotch whiskey was imported to this country in unlimited quantities subject to nominal import duties.

## RED CELL REPORTED

COMMITTEE -- Senate Judiciary, Internal Security Subcommittee.

ACTION -- Sept. 15 reported that "a smoothly coordinated" Communist underground was operating in New Orleans as late as the spring of 1955. The Subcommittee's conclusion, based on hearings of 17 "uncooperative" witnesses in New Orleans in April, 1956, was that Reds "sought to infiltrate labor unions, churches, farmer organizations, parent-teacher associations, channels of public opinion and other streams of influence in our society." Subcommittee Chairman James O. Eastland (D Miss.) said the Sessions in New Orleans "revealed the conspiratorial nature of the Communist organization, the resort to aliases, use of code names, evasion of legal processes, fabrication of birth records and of social security records, and other practices...."

## D.C. SCHOOLS

COMMITTEE -- House District of Columbia, Special Subcommittee.

BEGAN HEARINGS -- On public schools in the District of Columbia.

TESTIMONY -- Sept. 19 -- C. Melvin Sharpe, president of the D.C. Board of Education, said that racial integration of the District public schools carried out in the 1954-55 school year "would have succeeded better"

### Committee Roundup - 3

if it had taken place more gradually. He said "it probably would have been better to give children achievement tests before, rather than after, placing them by grades in integrated schools."

Sharpe said achievement tests given 1,630 eighth graders in predominantly white schools and 2,995 in predominantly Negro schools produced these results: In word achievement, 11.9 percent of the white students and 65.8 percent of the Negro students tested below normal for their grade level. In mathematics, 23.1 percent of the white children and 81.8 percent of the Negro children tested below normal for their grade level.

Sharpe said, "We have made great advances -- there is no question that we have succeeded in doing a great many things that will gradually work out." He said the D.C. Board of Education voted 6-1 to integrate District schools immediately after the Supreme Court's 1954 decision outlawing segregated schools.

John Paul Collins, retired principal of Eastern High School, in a sworn statement sent the Subcommittee, said "the problem of discipline was tremendous" after integration. He said "fighting, including several knifings, went on continually.... Stealing is so rife that it is no longer practical to report all the incidents." Collins said there were "many sex problems" and that "virtually all social activities were dropped at Eastern after integration." Collins said in his statement the disciplinary situation had contributed to the breakdown in health which was the reason for his retirement at the end of the 1954-55 school year.

Hugh Smith, Jefferson Junior High School principal for 26 years, said integration in the District would be "successful" in 10 years. Smith said the formerly all-white school's enrollment was 57 percent Negro and 43 percent white in the 1955-56 school year. He said he felt the white children's superior achievement ratings were "due to the fact that discipline (in white schools as compared with Negro) had been completely different." Smith said he "still thought well of integration." He said the schools had "big problems" that would take time and money to solve.

Helen Maguire, Davis Elementary School principal, said problems of discipline were acute in the first year of integration, but "this year things are better." She praised her teachers for the "wonderful job" they had done in adapting textbooks to the pupils' lower achievement levels. Mrs. Maguire said she would urge communities planning integration to make greater preparation before "going into it head over heels."

Sept. 20 -- Arthur Storey, Macfarland Junior High School principal, said he had called police about 50 times in the 1955-56 school year. He said the disciplinary problems resulting from integration "take much of the time and emotional energy of the teachers and keep them from doing the job they are mainly intended for as well as they might."

Wilmer Bennett, Hine Junior High School principal, said he thought the integration situation was "improving," but that "if we had had more preparation, more moderation, we would have done a better job." Bennett said it appeared that when District schools were segregated the Negro schools had automatically promoted children from grade to grade regardless of achievement.

Dorothy Denton, fourth grade teacher, said she thought "the time will come when the schools will be segregated again" because of population shifts in the District. Mrs. Denton said, "In my opinion, integration

has lowered standards of education in the District." She said some of her third and fourth grade pupils could read no more than 25 or 30 words, and that she could not give them more time because she had to take so much time for discipline.

**RELATED DEVELOPMENTS** -- Clarence Mitchell, director of the Washington bureau of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, Sept. 19 said that if the hearings continued, "it is not going to do any good to the Democratic party. Voters in New York and Ohio and such states are certainly going to take a second look at a party that brings to power the worst kind of bigots and allows them to interfere in the affairs of the District of Columbia." Mitchell said, "The questions and the attempts to read into the record what is not there demonstrate that this is a rigged hearing."

Lynn F. Woodworth, successor to John Paul Collins as principal of Eastern High School, Sept. 19 said "I had no disciplinary problems (at Eastern) I couldn't handle in a regular way at any time." Woodworth, who also served as assistant principal under Collins, said, "This year it's been practically perfect. It's as calm and well-organized a school as I've ever been in."

### Voting Statistics Corrections

Following are corrections to be made in scores of Members of Congress in CQ's voting statistics:

#### EISENHOWER SUPPORT-OPPOSITION

The 1956 and 84th Congress Eisenhower Support and Opposition scores of Rep. Cliff Clevenger (R Ohio) on p. 983 should read: Col. 1, 53; Col. 2, 32; Col. 3, 48; Col. 4, 28.

Clevenger's Domestic Policy Support and Opposition scores on p. 987 should read: Col. 1, 58; Col. 2, 29; Col. 3, 60; Col. 4, 22.

#### PARTY UNITY-OPPOSITION

The 1956 and 84th Congress Party Unity and Party Opposition scores of Rep. James H. Morrison (D La.) on p. 1087 should read: Col. 1, 22; Col. 2, 9; Col. 3, 38; Col. 4, 11.

The Party Unity and Party Opposition scores of Rep. Otto E. Passman (D La.) on p. 1087 should read: Col. 1, 56; Col. 2, 16; Col. 3, 57; Col. 4, 17.

#### BIPARTISAN SUPPORT-OPPOSITION

The 1956 and 84th Congress Bipartisan Support and Opposition scores of Rep. Clevenger on p. 1105 should read: Col. 1, 63; Col. 2, 22; Col. 3, 51; Col. 4, 30.

The Bipartisan Support and Opposition scores of Rep. O.C. Fisher (D Texas) on p. 1105 should read: Col. 1, 71; Col. 2, 27; Col. 3, 73; Col. 4, 24.

The Bipartisan Support and Opposition scores of Sen. Lister Hill (D Ala.) on p. 1106 should read: Col. 1, 80; Col. 2, 18; Col. 3, 83; Col. 4, 15.

## MASSACHUSETTS PRIMARY

Ex-Rep. Foster Furcolo (1949-52) won the Democratic gubernatorial nomination in the Sept. 18 Massachusetts primary. Furcolo defeated former state auditor Thomas H. Buckley by an unofficial vote of 357,409 to 131,875 from 1,504 of the state's 1,949 precincts. Lt. Gov. Sumner G. Whittier was unopposed for the Republican gubernatorial nomination. All incumbent Congressmen were renominated.

In the Seventh District Rep. Thomas J. Lane (D) easily won renomination to his ninth term. In a heavily Democratic district, Lane, who recently was released from a federal prison where he served four months for income tax evasion, polled an unofficial vote of 24,320, with 112 of 126 precincts reporting. Unofficial totals for his opponents: State Sen. Andrew P. Quigley, 11,644; State Rep. Joseph T. Conley, 7,140; State Rep. Pasquale Caggiano, 6,667; and James D. Leary, 1,270. Should Lane win the election he would be the first person elected to Congress after a prison term.

In the Eighth District the Republicans nominated State Rep. C. Eugene Farnum to oppose Rep. Torbert MacDonald (D) in the November election. In the Ninth District Rep. Donald W. Nicholson (R) defeated Hastings Keith by an unofficial vote of 22,533 to 17,843.

In the 10th District Rep. Laurence Curtis (R) easily won renomination. His opponent in November will be Jackson Holtz, who lost to Curtis by 1,800 votes in 1954. In the 13th District, Rep. Richard K. Wigglesworth (R) won renomination over State Rep. Harold Putnam, unofficially polling 25,668 votes to 9,605 for Putnam.

## NIXON TOUR

Vice President Richard M. Nixon Sept. 18 left Washington on a 32-state campaign trip described by the Republican National Committee as "the most intensive air tour in United States political history." The tour is scheduled to end at Philadelphia Oct. 3. At a sendoff breakfast for Nixon and other GOP campaigners, President Eisenhower said they needed only to tell the truth about his Administration to win the election. "Our record itself is sufficient. If it is made clear the people will support it," Mr. Eisenhower said.

Nixon Sept. 10 said he would present the "constructive achievements" of the Eisenhower Administration "vigorously and aggressively.... You can't win by wishy-washy milktoast." (See next page for texts of campaign speeches.)

## KEFAUVER TOUR

Sen. Estes Kefauver (D Tenn.), beginning a 15-state campaign swing, Sept. 15 told a St. Petersburg, Fla., audience that the President "showed no concern at all" about "galloping inflation" that had lifted living costs to a record high. He said the only answer offered by the Republicans was to "turn on the hard money policy." In Orlando, Fla., Kefauver called for "calm reason...fairness and courage" in working out the school desegregation problem "without resort to lawlessness."

In Cleveland, Ohio, Kefauver Sept. 16 said he was "sorry" the State Department "backed by the President himself" had refused to permit American newspapermen to visit Red China. "If we are to set our relations with the rest of the world aright, our purpose must be peace, our method friendship and good will," he said.

In Janesville, Wis., Kefauver Sept. 17 said President Eisenhower had "betrayed the farmers and the farmers' loyalty" with a "false promise" of 100 percent of parity. Kefauver also charged that "middlemen and processors" were running the Department of Agriculture.

## State Roundup

**GEORGIA** -- Ex-Gov. Herman Talmadge won the Democratic Senatorial nomination, tantamount to election, in the Sept. 12 primary. Returns from 1,642 of 1,791 precincts gave Talmadge 408,380 votes to 113,005 for his opponent, ex-Gov. M.E. Thompson. Talmadge won a majority in every county, giving him all of the state's 410 unit votes. The state's 10 Representatives all won renomination.

**NEW YORK** -- Rep. Arthur G. Klein (D) of New York City Sept. 12 withdrew from his race for re-election in the 19th District after he had been nominated for justice of the state supreme court. Klein had served in Congress since 1941. Leonard Farbstein received the Democratic nomination for Klein's House seat.... State Attorney General Jacob K. Javits, GOP candidate for the Senate seat being vacated by Herbert H. Lehman (D), Sept. 13 said he would delay taking office in the Senate if he were elected until the GOP-controlled state legislature could meet and agree on his successor. This would prevent Democratic Gov. Averell Harriman from naming a Democrat to Javits' current post, the only statewide elective post held by a Republican.

**SOUTH CAROLINA** -- The state Democratic convention Aug. 27 voted 167-150% to support the Democratic national ticket in November. It was the first time in 12 years a state convention had backed the national ticket without reservations or loopholes for potential bolters.

**TEXAS** -- Gov. Allan Shivers (D) Sept. 18 announced he would support President Eisenhower for re-election.... Sen. Price Daniel, Democratic gubernatorial nominee, Sept. 18 announced his support for Adlai E. Stevenson and Sen. Estes Kefauver. Both Shivers and Daniel bolted the party in 1952 to support President Eisenhower.... Rep. Martin Dies (D) Sept. 17 announced his candidacy for Daniel's Senate seat. Daniel has said that, if elected, he would resign his seat in time for his successor to be chosen at a special election before Congress convenes in January, 1957.

**VIRGINIA** -- T. Coleman Andrews Sept. 17 was qualified as an independent Presidential candidate for the Virginia ballot in the November election. Andrews Sept. 15 was endorsed as a candidate by the National States' Rights Conference in Memphis, Tenn.... Richard O. Read of Arlington Sept. 7 filed as an independent candidate for the House of Representatives in the 10th District.



# 1956 Campaign Statements

Congressional Quarterly will reprint major speeches and statements of Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates and campaign leaders during the 1956 Presidential election campaign. Where possible, full texts are printed.

## REPUBLICANS

These are the major statements of Republican campaigners for the week ending Sept. 19:

### DWIGHT EISENHOWER

President Eisenhower formally opened his campaign for re-election in a Sept. 12 speech to Republican leaders from throughout the country at Gettysburg, Pa. The complete text of Mr. Eisenhower's remarks:

Mr. Chairman, my fellow platform-sitters, my fellow Americans and all the people that you represent in your official and personal capacities:

Unfortunately, the chairman did not allot me time. I have no idea how long I am supposed to talk, but I have so many things on my mind, if I get to wandering around too freely, I hope that some of my friends here in front will have the good judgment to act a little impatient -- possibly I shall notice it.

I want, first of all, to answer a question I have been asked every day for just about a year:

Ladies and gentlemen, I feel fine!

And now, in acknowledging the very gracious and complimentary things that have been said about me today, and more particularly the latest remarks by the Vice President, I want to say this: There is no man in the history of America who has had such a careful preparation as has Vice President Nixon for carrying out the duties of the Presidency, if that duty should ever fall upon him.

For four solid years there hasn't been a principal, administrative meeting among the heads of government that he has not attended as an active participant. He has gone, on behalf of the United States, to many foreign countries on many trips. And in every country that he has visited the reports have been that the United States has gained many additional friends.

I have called upon him to serve on numerous committees, for people have banded together looking toward the solution of some problem important to our country, one of the most important of which was that looking toward the elimination of discrimination in governmental contracts, and the success attained is a tribute to his dedication and to his wisdom.

Now the first thing that I want to say to you personally is that I hope each of you has enjoyed the day as much as Mrs. Eisenhower and I have enjoyed having you out here. It has been a great privilege for us, and I have particularly enjoyed listening to the people that told us something of the mechanics of winning elections, and working in the precincts, and so on.

I subscribe to every bit of it.

I would like to tell here just a little incident that occurred not long ago in the White House one evening. It was a caller from nearby Maryland, and she said, "Twice Democratic workers have called at my door and wanted to talk government and politics. No Republican has yet called."

I would venture one word of advice on top of all that you have so far heard: when you go to that door and ring that bell, go with a smile on your face. Pessimism has never yet won a battle.

Now I should like to talk a little bit more about the fundamental reasons that we are here today. Now the obvious one is: we want to elect the Republican party to the position of leadership in our municipalities, our counties, our states and our national government.

But I want to point out that an election in itself is not the victory. The election rather is a mandate that is placed upon a party and upon its candidates by the people of the United States. An election is a beginning. It's more like the battle orders that a

commander gives to a unit as he sends it into battle. To do something constructive for the great people that we call the American nation.

Now, of course, this election concerns the important business, almost the life and death business of 168 million people. It is a fantastically complex organization. An economy producing at the extraordinary rate of four hundred billions a year, with every kind of craft and science and profession represented among our people, and each having its own special relations with government.

So, knowing and hearing today the practical means by which we win elections, let us never forget, while we are winning, what do we want to accomplish?

We want to accomplish giving to the United States of America, in all levels of government, honest government, government of good judgment, government of tolerance, of conciliation that has very definite views about the relationship of government to the individual and faithfully follows it.

So let us not forget: We will not win an election merely because we happened to like one individual or two individuals or the individuals and their families. We are winning an election to give America a chance to go forward along a path that we believe to be best for her, and because it is best for her it is best for the world.

We have four great objectives immediately in front of us. First, we want to arouse the consciousness of the vast stakes that hang upon this election. We want America to understand how much it means to them to keep on going down the straight road of prosperity and peace.

### GENERATE CONVICTIONS

We want, then, to generate a conviction. We want to generate the conviction that the Republican party by reason of the people that it offers you as candidates all the way from Councilman all the way up, represent the best hope of America to follow that great and broad forward way.

We want to ignite a zeal so that we can make converts, make converts among every class of people, not asking a person whether they are Republican, whether they are an Independent, or whether they are a Democrat. We say to them: Do you believe this -- Do you believe this? These facts being so, you must vote Republican.

So our idea is to get all of these converts understanding what we do about our country, about the capacity of the Republican party to lead based upon its record -- and get them to vote that way.

And of course we want to fortify their determination to prepare themselves for voting. If we do -- and by this I mean, of course, registration -- if we do all of these things I point out, we transform a campaign into a crusade, we change a political platform into a cause, a cause that makes people jump up and want to work.

It is useless for the chairman, or any of us on this platform, to say to you: "Just go work," if the leaders of the party do not provide for the workers an understanding that puts a light in the eye and some joy in the heart -- there's no sense of going out and working.

As a matter of fact, unless we had a cause that would do those things, I declare to you, never could I have accepted the nomination. And I know that none of you would be here today. You have made the long trek, some of you from California and closer, to come here and meet with people of your kind and with the rest of us, to talk over these problems. It is because you do have something of that in your heart and in your eye, give it to every worker.

Now, of course, this job, there is nothing chronological, there is nothing really very systematic about it, for the reason you can't talk about human morale in terms of push buttons and call bells. You have got to reach down into the hearts of people, that is what we are talking about. It has got to be a real cause for which they are ready to work.

What we are really talking about is, a day-to-day way of life on the part of leaders. And who are leaders? Anybody that can influence any other single person in this world -- that's leaders.

Even down in the squad, in the Army, you not only have the squad leader, but you have the assistant squad leader and the technician. Each has his little job. Because why do you pick him? First, because he can get others to work with him. The essence of leadership is to get others to do something because they think you want it done and because they know it is worth while doing -- that is what we are talking about.

By this day-to-day way of life, I mean using every opportunity to tell the truth, to expose falsehood, to stimulate thinking. It is our great privilege dealing with fellow citizens as equals in their rights and responsibilities -- not playing a demagogue or the boss, or the "I know better than you" big-brother role.

We want to emphasize the principles that distinguish the Republican party from our opponents. Now these principles concern, first, the purpose of government, and next, the nature of government. Here the Republican party is fortunate that in its first great leader they received an axiom that has never been improved upon since his time, when Abraham Lincoln said, "The role of Government is to do for people what they cannot do at all for themselves, or so well do in their individual capacities. And," he said, "in all those things where people can do these things for themselves, Government ought not to interfere."

And in a subsequent talk on this very battleground, he said, "Government -- the nature of Government is of, by and for the people." There is no better way to describe the nature of government than the Republican party adheres to, and its purpose.

Great books have been written in extension of President Lincoln's statements. More will probably be written, but the nub of them, I think, is something like this:

The Republican party demands that our system be so conducted as to assure the individual his right to reach the heights that his ambitions and his talents permit, without infringement on his fellow citizens' equal right.

Next, to protect the individual against falling into the depths of poverty and misery through no fault of his own. Next, to foster the individual's will to join with his neighbors in making their community and state worthy and respectable members of the Republic. Next, to assist them in the achievement of that objective when on their own resources alone they cannot do the job.

#### THRIFT AND INTEGRITY

The Republican party stands for thrift and integrity in government and against centralization of power in big government. But it believes that government must neither pinch pennies where the security of the nation is concerned nor weakly compromise principle under pressures however massive or powerful they may be.

The Republican party insists that the conduct of American world leadership be marked by an open diplomacy that permits no secret treaties, no covenants that violate decency or justice or the rights of even the weakest nation. For peace can be achieved and preserved only by international agreements based on moral principles that can stand the scrutiny of all mankind.

Finally, to the Republican party from its very beginning, one man is equal in his dignity and in his rights.

Now, our fundamental purpose -- immediate purpose is to persuade everybody to vote Republican.

And there has been some talk about a phrase that I used at San Francisco, and it must have been a very fortunate one because it has been quoted: Discerning Democrats.

One accosted me here today. He came up and said: "I am one of those discerning Democrats, and I assume that from this platform I would hear a statement from one of them." But that gentlemen -- I have unfortunately forgotten his name -- I want to thank him at least for giving me an individual report on what he was doing.

Now again, I come back to registration. This campaign will be a tragic exercise in futility if we should succeed in generating zeal, the beliefs, the convictions, among all America that we want to generate, and then find on election day that half the people that we have converted couldn't vote.

Let us insist now, therefore, that everybody register -- telling them very frequently, "We want you to register. If you find it necessary to vote against us, all right, we would rather have you do that than not vote at all -- because we want the decision of America, not the decision of the minority."

I have talked to great TV executives, and they say they are going to help, they are putting on little spot programs. I have talked to radio people -- movie people. All of them say they are going to help. I don't believe there's any election that will be as effective as we ourselves can do: Telephoning our friends, calling on those we don't know, introducing ourselves, as I say, with a grin, and let's get along with the business of getting them down there and getting them ready to vote.

Now I am going to read you the shortest editorial I have ever read in this business of registration. It reads:

"If you live behind the Iron Curtain, you do not have to register -- you vote as you're told, when you're told. If you are an American citizen, you do not have to register. Period. In either case, somebody else runs your country."

Now let me mention one other thing. I would not admit that there is any community, any county, any state, any section of this country, to be written off as hopeless. We had the report from the enthusiastic Southerner, who said we are growing in the South. Well, if you grow far enough you are going to pass somebody that is not growing.

We have a great party. We have got individuals in this party right now working in the cities all the way from the Puget Sound down to Miami -- from Los Angeles to Maine. That's a bad word. (Much laughter.)

You know, since I was allotted no definite portion of time, I am going to take some of this time to tell just a little bit of a story.

When we went into the African campaign, as all of you know, all our troops were green, and the normal American boy seemed to think that some rules applied in war that were something, possibly, like football or baseball, or rules that applied to any other contest. They thought there was time to fight and time to sleep, and so on. They had taken, in other words, their training lightly.

And we had the battle of Kasserine Pass that came about because of surprise and greenness of the commanders and troops, and we took a real beating before we recovered ourselves and were able to drive the enemy back from whence he came.

#### COMPLACENCY LESSON

But there was no less on the whole campaign -- in all of the campaigns in which I was concerned, so valuable as that. Never again did you find American troops casually sitting on the side of a hill and assuming that the Germans wouldn't attack at 2 A.M. From that time on they were real soldiers.

I think maybe Maine has a lesson in it.

So our tactics, then, are to reach every last woman and man -- and child, indeed, because a child's enthusiasm can be important. In your block, in your apartment house -- reach every one of them -- and convince them of the solidity of your views, the dedication that you have to your cause. We will reach all of these people, we will convince them, because we are leaders.

And I want to say one more word about leadership.

I told you I was going to wander all over the countryside. The tactical schools used to tell us that a commander visited his troops in order to inspire them, they fight better. From the beginning of my soldier experience, I learned this: I loved those visits, but it was I that gained the inspiration. There is no American that can't take inspiration from young 20-year-olds, if he will watch them in action. They bring to a cause in which they believe, an energy, a zeal, a belief, a conviction, that is inspiring to watch, and it sends each of us back doing our work better.

Now, in conclusion, you know the problems. You must receive constant information from your headquarters. That information is rather like the ammunition which you use in a campaign. Use it usefully. It's to prove that the Republican party is dedicated to the welfare of all the people of America, and to an honorable and just peace abroad. And remember, let us make sure that everybody has a right to exercise the ballot, because I would say that a voter without a ballot is like a soldier without a bullet. Let's make sure that every man on Election Day is armed and ready to do his part with his own ballot.

My friends, you have put up with me a long time. As a matter of fact, I had a very funny story to tell you, but I am not going to tell you it this time. (Cries of more, more.) All right!

I will tell you my story. I have to sit down, though I can't tell the story standing up.



## Campaign Statements - 3

In the days when Mr. Bryan was going over the Chataqua circuit, he was often speaking at very short intervals. He spoke in many towns in the course of a day. He came into a town in Mississippi, and the train schedules allowed him just an hour and a half. And the first train got late, and it got down until he had only 30 minutes for Mr. Bryan in the town the whole time he was there.

And the man they had chosen to introduce him was a man who really loved his own oratorical methods and techniques. And he let go and he couldn't stop. But finally, by pulling on his coat-tails and everything else, they got him down, and Mr. Bryan had just two minutes and then he had to rush to the train.

And the man who had staged the show was walking around and he was stopped by a farmer that he knew, and said, "How did you like Mr. Bryan?"

And he said, "He was good -- I thought he was very good." "But," he said, "you know, that old bald-headed fellow that talked last wasn't bad, either."

## Speaks of Peace

Following is the text of a major address by President Eisenhower delivered Sept. 19 in Washington over the Columbia Broadcasting System's radio and television networks:

My Fellow Citizens:

Tonight I ask the privilege of coming quietly into your homes to talk with you on some serious national subjects -- without the noise and extravagance usual during a political campaign.

I want to talk of one word -- and of many things. The word is -- Peace. And the many things are its many and momentous meanings.

The force and impact of this one word -- Peace -- reach all persons, all problems, in all our land. Its meaning embraces past achievements, present problems, future hopes. It touches all things in our life and knowledge: from home and school, factory and farm to the most distant points on earth -- a frontier in Europe, an island in the Pacific, a canal in the Middle East. And this meaning ranges, too, from the highest kind of principle to the most personal kind of fact.

Let me begin with a personal matter. It is a personal kind of peace that I possess -- granted to me by the mercy of the Almighty.

It is this firm conviction: I am confident of my own physical strength to meet all the responsibilities of the Presidency, today and in the years just ahead. If I were not so convinced, I would never have accepted renomination to this office.

I hope this conviction -- this peace of mind -- may bring assurance to many others, as I stand ready to serve as your President for another four years, if this be your will.

Let me, now, speak of greater matters.

Peace, like all virtues, begins at home. So examination of our problems and achievements should likewise begin here.

Peace -- for any home in this land -- means each family's freedom from need.

The workers of America today fill almost 67 million jobs -- the largest number in our history. They receive higher wages and have better living standards than ever known before. And they know that, in the whole area of human welfare, every major Federal program affecting social security, health and education has been improved or expanded to the highest point in our history.

We should, I think, not waste time in self-congratulation as we face these facts. We know that America cannot claim perfection so long as any family in this land unjustly suffers need. We know, at the same time, that we already enjoy progress without precedent. And our anxiety to achieve still more is equalled only by our thanksgiving to God for the wisdom, the skills, the industry and the resources that make us, today, the most fortunate people on earth.

Peace -- next -- has a special meaning for our nation's industry, an industry upon which depend not only our own daily lives but also the strength of free men everywhere.

We have made real progress, these last three years, toward industrial peace. We have seen the loss of time -- with its loss of wages -- caused by industrial conflict fall to less than half the rate of immediately preceding years.

This Administration has trusted and respected the free processes of collective bargaining.

The reward, for our country, has been two-fold. Industry has smashed all records of production and expansion. And organized labor has grown -- in numbers, in resources, and in public respect -- to a strength never before known.

Peace, for the farmer in our agricultural community, has too a special meaning, as he has special problems.

Because I shall speak of these special farm problems in days ahead, I now want to state only the plain principles that must guide us. We must meet these problems with Government policies that apply to the conditions of peace -- not with policies of the past that applied only to the demands of wartime. And we must develop and live by policies that are truly constructive -- we must never, in a spirit of partisan warfare, treat the farmer as a kind of political prize to be fought for and captured.

Peace in our society involves more than economic groups; it involves understanding and tolerance among all creeds and races.

We have applied, these past three years, a clear philosophy to the whole conduct of the Government. We have rejected all concept of a nation divided into sections, groups or factions. We have insisted that, in the American design, each group in our Nation may have special problems, but none has special rights. Each has peculiar needs, but none has peculiar privileges. And the supreme concern, equal for all, is the justice, the opportunity, and the unity shared by 168 million Americans.

We have shown this concern by working to secure, wherever the authority of the Federal Government extends, equality of rights and opportunity for all men regardless of race or color.

We have done this in the National Capital.

We have done this in all the establishments of our armed forces.

And we have done this in the policy ruling all Government contracts with private industry.

## BUILDING PEACE

These facts deserve one comment.

I am proud that all the progressive actions of these years -- taken in the name, not of any political party, but of the American people -- place no individual in debt to any political party. These actions are nothing more -- nothing less -- than the rendering of justice.

In all these ways, then, we have been building the strength of peace at home. And so, we have been able, on the whole, to act as a united people in our search for peace in its most critical form -- the peace of the wide world itself.

Upon my inauguration in January, 1953, I made to you this pledge: "In our quest for an honorable peace, we shall neither compromise, nor tire, nor ever cease."

In the spirit of this pledge, let me indicate a few facts -- and compare, in some areas of our world, life today with life in 1952.

KOREA. In 1952 the loss of life, for ours and many nations, seemed endless. Today Korea means: peace with honor.

IRAN. This country had been tormented for years by Soviet threats and Communist subversion. The resources of that nation threatened, for a time, to be lost behind the Iron Curtain. We met that threat. Iran stays free.

WEST GERMANY. Three years ago this great power was a territory of military occupation. Today it is sovereign -- strong -- and joined with the West.

TRIESTE. Ever since World War II, riot and division in this city had poisoned relations between two major powers: Italy and Yugoslavia. Today Trieste is at peace.

AUSTRIA. Year after year, since World War II, military division and occupation had plagued the people of Austria. Today Austria is unoccupied -- united and free.

GUATEMALA. This central American republic was a chosen target for Communist aggression in our Hemisphere. This danger was met and repelled. And as never before all the American republics are united against international communism.

These few examples circle the globe.

And they testify to our greater goal: to ease, for all men everywhere, the burden of arms and fears which they have suffered so long. For we have been pledged to wage what I three-and-one-half years ago called "a new kind of war...a declared total war, not upon any human enemy, but upon the brute forces of poverty and need."

We have been waging this kind of war -- in the world, as in our own land.

We have done this with our offer of nuclear material for world use.

We have done it with our specific plans for world disarmament under essential safeguards.

We have done it with what has been called the "open skies" declaration, proposing mutual air inspection of American and Soviet defenses.

We have done it with what I might call an "open minds" spirit in our diplomacy -- for in meetings like those in Geneva last year we have made known our passion for peace in ways understood by men everywhere.

And we have given the firmest proof of our final purpose with this declared policy: In the interest of world peace and well-being, this Government is ready to ask its people to join all nations in devoting a substantial percentage of the savings achieved by disarmament to a fund for world aid and reconstruction.

We stand ready, in short, to dedicate our strength to serving the needs, rather than the fears of the world.

We stand, too, in true and effective unity with our allies of all the free world.

This unity speaks through not only the world forum of the United Nations, but also our defense systems. It speaks through the solidarity of the American republics, our NATO alliances in the West, our SEATO alliances in the East.

And this spirit of unity imposes upon us this restraint: as issues and conflicts may arise between two or more nations, who are allied with us in freedom, we cannot become impassioned champions of one side or the other. Our task is to try always to heal any such conflicts -- in fairness, in justice and in the name of the greater unity we seek to serve. This task is not always easy. But it is always necessary.

Within this unity of free peoples, we carry both a responsibility and initiative uniquely our own. When we occasionally differ with some allies, we are, as a free people, simply being true both to ourselves and to our common cause. Thus, not long ago, facing a grave crisis in Indochina inherited from the past, we spoke both more forcefully and more hopefully than some of our allies. As a result, we today point to the free nation of Vietnam -- free not only from Communist rule, but also from any mark of colonial rule.

#### SUEZ CRISIS

We face, in these days, another grave crisis concerning the Suez Canal. We have spoken with care and restraint. We cannot yet know whether the issue can be settled with justice and fairness to all. But we can know that the world will know that America has spared no effort to save peace.

The full measure of our work for peace can be simply summarized. We have seen an end to the old pattern of tragedy: not a single nation has been surrendered to aggression. We have maintained this defense of freedom without recourse to war. And we have embraced, in this defense-without-war, lands in Asia -- such as Formosa -- previously written off as beyond the practical reach of our concern.

These are some of the reasons why I can say to you tonight: the pledge of peace, made to you upon the day of my inauguration, has been pursued -- firmly and effectively.

Our task is far from done. New problems, and critical ones, rise before us. And they give to our generation this warning: there are walking beside us, at this moment of history, our two constant companions: great danger -- and great opportunity.

We witness, as we scan this divided world, a number of grave problems. I wish briefly to state four of them.

First: We witness today, across a vast middle-area of our earth, an historic struggle by its peoples for freedom -- freedom from foreign rule or freedom from domestic poverty. In this great belt, from the deserts of North Africa across to the islands of the South Pacific, there live 800 million persons -- one third of the world's population. And through all these lands, Communist voices cry out to all men -- to hate the West.

We act in this area by a few clear principles. We respect fully the right of all peoples, able and ready to govern themselves, to be free to do so. We realize that the future role of the West, with all these peoples, must ultimately be one not of rule -- but of partnership. And we know that this role will require us -- for the

sake of the peace of the world -- to strive to help these struggling peoples to rise from poverty and need.

Second: We witness today, in the power of nuclear weapons a new and deadly dimension to the ancient horror of war. Humanity has now achieved, for the first time in its history, the power to end its history.

This truth must guide our every deed. It makes world disarmament a necessity of world life. For I repeat again this simple declaration: the only way to win World War III is to prevent it.

Third: We witness today -- partly as a result of Western unity and strength -- the turning of Communist world ambition toward new methods and devices. These methods are first of all, political. They mean -- across the world, within each country -- new and powerful Communist effort to win with the ballot what they have been unable to win with the bayonet.

We can meet this threat with neither anger against allies nor scorn for neutrals. But we can be vigilant, patient and comprehending. We can, in the name of freedom itself, remind our allies of their responsibilities within their frontiers. And we can, as we address all neutral nations, remind them that there is no neutrality between right and wrong. And therefore, there is one issue on which we are not neutral -- their right right to stay free.

Finally: We witness today, in the economic arena, the rise of the first great industrial power to challenge the West. This power is the Soviet Union -- with its steel production, its heavy machinery, its natural resources, its technical skills.

This power, as it is pitted against the West, will demand of us many things. It will demand the most vigorous economy of our history. It will demand the technical training of our youth as a direct concern of national security. And it will demand, among the governments of the free nations, the closest possible coordination of economic action.

Such -- in the simplest of forms -- are some great problems we face.

There are -- let me state plainly and immediately -- some ways not to meet these problems, as they must be met: with wisdom and strength.

#### ATOMIC TESTS

We cannot prove wise and strong with public speech that erroneously asserts our economic weakness. For the people of the world and the leaders of the Soviet Union must never be deceived or delighted by any myth of American weakness. They must know the truth of our strength.

We cannot prove wise and strong by any such simple device as suspending, unilaterally, our H-bomb tests. Our atomic knowledge and power have forged the saving shield of freedom. And the wise future use and control of atomic power can be assured, not by any theatrical national gesture -- but only by explicit and supervised international agreements.

We cannot prove wise and strong by hinting that our military draft might soon be suspended -- even though every family naturally hopes for the day when it might be possible. This -- I state categorically -- cannot be done under world conditions of today. It would weaken our own armed forces. It would propagate neutral sentiment everywhere. And it would shock our allies who are calling upon their people to shoulder arms in our common cause.

We cannot -- in short -- face the future simply by walking into the past -- backwards.

We cannot salute the future with bold words -- while we surrender it with feeble deeds.

I suggest only a few plain principles by which we can and must direct our quest of world peace.

We must maintain our military strength: balancing it and perfecting it, in weapons and in strategy, so that its sheer effectiveness restrains any aggressor.

We must perfect such military strength in ways that impose the least possible penalty upon our economic strength, for upon the economic arena communism is now focusing its power and its strategy.

We must act with the knowledge that peace can be sustained for all the world, only with wider and growing markets, rising living standards, and flourishing world trade among the free nations.

We must put effort, skill and faith in our diplomacy -- tested, as it has been throughout these last years -- for upon it ultimately will depend the prevention of World War III.

## Campaign Statements - 5

And we must practice this truth: the honor and strength of our own national life offer the clearest proof of the kind of world and the kind of peace in which we believe.

This truth touches the lives of all of us.

We cannot encourage economic strength in other lands -- if we, for political expediency, again let loose forces of inflation that would weaken our own economy.

We cannot urge unity of purpose upon all free nations -- if we ourselves were to think and to act, not as one people, but as a divided and discordant nation.

And we cannot claim the trust of hundreds of millions of people across Asia and Africa -- if we, in a free America, do not ourselves hold high the banner of equality and justice for all.

All this is what I meant when I said, three years ago:

"Whatever America hopes to bring to pass in the world must first come to pass in the heart of America."

I have tonight, my fellow citizens, submitted to you a kind of personal report on the state of our Nation. I have sought to define clearly the many meanings, to me, of this one word -- Peace.

For the peace of which I speak embraces the home and the toil, the hope and fortune, of each and all of us.

This peace, therefore, is no static thing, no passive mood. It is not a prize. It is a quest. It is not a present to be received. It is a principle to be respected. It inspires not relaxation, but resourcefulness -- not stagnation, but stamina.

Upon the day when I took the oath to serve you in this office, I spoke my abiding conviction:

"The peace we seek...is nothing less than the practice and fulfillment of our whole faith, among ourselves and in our dealings with others.

"More than an escape from death, it is a way of life.

"More than a haven for the weary, it is a hope for the brave."

If this be our faith, I humbly believe that we may ask the blessings of God upon our labor.

## RICHARD NIXON

Vice President Richard M. Nixon formally opened his campaign for re-election with a Sept. 18 speech at Indianapolis, Ind. Verbatim extracts from the speech:

I speak to you today on behalf of a great cause -- the re-election of President Eisenhower and the election of a Republican House and Senate so that we can assure four more years of the kind of government which has brought peace and prosperity to the American people and restored honesty, integrity, and decency to government.

Since this is the kick-off speech of the campaign I want to tell you what kind of campaign I hope to wage.

I am proud to be a member of this Administration. I believe we've done a good job in the past four years. I believe the best interests of the great majority of the American people, regardless of party, will be served by accepting the opportunity of having four more years of President Eisenhower's leadership.

I believe that we should elect Republicans to the Congress so that he can more effectively carry out his program for the future of America which he described so magnificently in his acceptance in San Francisco. I intend to tell this story all over America and I am confident that if Americans know the facts they will vote for the re-election of President Eisenhower.

But there are those who ask what are we going to do about the attacks which are being made on us by our opponents? Should we reply in kind by attacking them? I say that we have something far better to offer the American people than personal abuse of our opponents.

But let's get one thing straight right now. Where our opponents misrepresent and distort the record and where they vilify the President of the United States I shall consider it a duty and a privilege to set the record straight.

I have faith that the American people make the right decision in elections, provided they know the facts. But where a mis-statement is repeated often enough without correction it is believed as the truth. I can assure you that that will not happen in this campaign.

Now may I tell you some of the reasons why I believe that one good term deserves another and why the Eisenhower Administration deserves a vote of confidence from the American people.

Because this Administration got the United States out of one war, kept it out of others, and offers the best hope for peace without surrender in the years ahead.

That is what we say. Now let us see what our critics say.

They say we have no peace, that our prestige is at an all-time low. My answer is this: It probably is not surprising that those who defend an Administration which refused to admit that the war in Korea was a war, might not know the difference between war and peace. But the American people know the difference and if you have any doubt about that, ask the mothers and fathers, the wives and loved ones of the 157,000 Americans who were killed, wounded, or missing in Korea whether we have war or peace today.

Consider for a moment that issue which is close to the heart and to the pocketbook of every American citizen -- the economic policies of this Administration.

That record can be summed up in one simple dramatic sentence. The great majority of the American people have enjoyed the best four years of their lives under the Eisenhower Administration. There are more jobs at higher wages, with greater take-home pay, for 66.6 million American wage earners than at any time in history. We recognize that some segments of our economy have not shared as they should in this increasing prosperity.

I can assure you that this Administration is using every resource at our command to speed up the disposal of the huge surpluses of farm products which have been responsible for the delay our farmers have experienced in moving ahead with the rest of the economy to new heights of prosperity. We did not create this problem, but we are determined to solve it. As the figures released by the Department of Agriculture yesterday show, farm prices are finally on the way up and we intend to keep them on that path.

Until this Administration came into power in 1953 the people of the United States for a period of 20 years had never had real prosperity except in war or as a result of war. This does not mean that our national leaders got us into war so that we would have prosperity. Such a charge is wrong and inconsistent with the facts. It does prove, however, that the New Deal, Fair Deal planners were never able to find the secret to the problem of creating prosperity during peacetime.

## IMPORTANT ACCOMPLISHMENT

May I touch now, very briefly on an accomplishment of this Administration which to many Americans is more important than all the rest. President Eisenhower has cleaned up the mess he found, has not allowed another one to be made, and will continue to maintain standards that will make every American proud of his government in Washington.

I believe that the American people's decision was right in 1952 and it is even more right today after the magnificent performance of the Eisenhower Administration over the past four years.

The decision is in your hands. And I ask you to make it in this spirit. Forget for the moment whether you are a Democrat or a Republican. Take into consideration what President Eisenhower says, what I say and what other Republicans and Democrats who support the President say.

Consider also what our opponents have to say.

But most important, consider whether this Administration has been good for you. Compare the last four years with the four years before.

Do you have more confidence in those who make the foreign policy in this country than you had previously?

Do you believe this Administration is an honest Administration?

Compare your take-home pay, your financial security with what it was four years ago.

I am confident that the great majority of you, regardless of party, will say that this Administration has been good for you.

## California Speech

Following are verbatim extracts from a speech by Nixon Sept. 18 at Whittier, Calif.:

Tonight I want to tell you some of the reasons why I believe that one good term deserves another and why the Eisenhower Administration deserves a vote of confidence from the American people.



Because this Administration got the United States out of one war, kept it out of others, and offers the best hope for peace without surrender in the years ahead. That is what we say. Now let us see what our critics say.

They say we have no peace, that our prestige is at an all-time low. My answer is this: It probably is not surprising that those who defend an Administration which refused to admit that the war in Korea was a war, might not know the difference between war and peace. But the American people know the difference and if you have any doubt about that, ask the mothers and fathers, the wives and loved ones of the 157,000 Americans who were killed, wounded, or missing in Korea whether we have war or peace today.

I would not have you believe that all of our problems in the international field are solved. The threat we face today to peace and freedom is as great as the world has ever seen. And the path to peace is not an easy one to find. There have been several times in the past four years when men who were rash or men who were less experienced could have gotten the United States into war. That is why we need today the wisest and most experienced leadership we can possibly have -- the kind of leadership that President Eisenhower has given and is giving to the American people.

In a political campaign it is tempting to tell the American people that we can get rid of the draft, cut our defenses, find a cut rate way to meet our international obligations. But I say that American security must come before any political ambitions or considerations and I am confident that our people, regardless of their party, will support that proposition.

Of this I can assure you. As long as this Administration is in Washington, this is the type of national leadership you will have: We will never underestimate or pooh-poo the Communist danger at home or abroad. We shall never engage in the cynical type of compromise or appeasement which might bring peace for ourselves but which would assure war or surrender for our children. We shall provide for the American people the very best national defense possible at the least cost consistent with national security considerations.

We shall see that every moral, spiritual, and economic resource of America is used in an unceasing and untiring quest for peace and freedom throughout the world. I believe that the record of this Administration in the field of foreign policy and national security is in itself enough to merit the continued support of the American people in this election. But let me give you some other reasons which I believe you will find compelling.

#### ECONOMIC POLICIES

Consider for a moment that issue which is close to the heart and to the pocketbook of every American citizen -- the economic policies of this Administration. That record can be summed up in one simple dramatic sentence. The great majority of the American people have enjoyed the best four years of their lives under the Eisenhower Administration.

May I touch now, however, very briefly on an accomplishment of this Administration which to many Americans is more important than all the rest. I can sum it up in a sentence. In President Eisenhower we have a man whom every American can hold up to his children as one who has faith in God, faith in America, and who has restored dignity and respect to the highest office in the land.

Let me list briefly some of the goals toward which we are working.

Every American boy or girl, regardless of his financial status, should have an opportunity to get the very best education for which he is qualified.

The American farmer whose production is the primary ingredient in the strength of our economy must have his equal and fair share of America's increased prosperity.

The equality of opportunity for jobs, education, and housing must become a reality for our 17 million Negro citizens.

The great untapped resources of water and power in the United States must be developed so that our economy can continue to grow.

Small business which is the life-blood of a free economy must have the encouragement and opportunity which will allow it to compete successfully with big business.

The aged, the unemployed, the sick, the less fortunate must have the consideration and care worthy of the wealthiest nation on earth.

The slums which blight our cities, the pockets of poverty which exist in some areas must be attacked with imaginative and bold programs.

To accomplish all of these objectives we must aim toward a national income of 500 billion dollars.

In the words of the President, "We believe that the slum, the out-dated highway, the poor school system, deficiencies in health protection, the loss of a job and the fear of poverty and old age, in fact, any real injustice in the business of living, penalizes us all. And this Administration is committed to help you prevent them."

I believe the best interests of the great majority of the American people, regardless of party, will be served by accepting the opportunity of having four more years of President Eisenhower's leadership. I believe that we should elect Republicans to the Congress so that he can more effectively carry out his program for the future of America which he described so magnificently in his acceptance speech in San Francisco.

I intend to tell this story all over America and I am confident that if Americans know the facts they will vote for the re-election of President Eisenhower.

But there are those who ask what are we going to about the attacks which are being made on us by our opponents? Should we reply in kind by attacking them?

I say that we have something far better to offer the American people than personal abuse of our opponents. But let's get one thing straight right now. Where our opponents misrepresent and distort the record and where they vilify the President of the United States I shall consider it a duty and a privilege to set the record straight.

I have faith that the American people make the right decision in elections, provided they know the facts. But where a misstatement is repeated often enough without correction it is believed as the truth. I can assure you that that will not happen in this campaign.

## DEMOCRATS

These are the major statements of Democratic campaigners for the week ending Sept. 19:

### ADLAI STEVENSON

Adlai E. Stevenson formally opened his campaign for election to the Presidency in a Sept. 13 speech at a Democratic fund raising dinner at Harrisburg, Pa. The complete text of Stevenson's remarks:

I come here tonight to summon the Democratic Party in Pennsylvania and in America to the cause of freedom, the cause of human welfare, and the cause of peace.

And I summon all Americans who believe greatly in these things to join with me. We claim no monopoly on the ideals we assert. They are America's ideals. The victory we seek is not just for a party; it is for a people.

But we do claim that this victory will come only to the bold and the brave, to those who are willing to work to make democracy's ideals come true in the lives of every man and woman and child in America -- yes, and in the world. This is our democratic goal. This is the victory we seek in November.

And I am going to fight for it with everything I have!

Our party is honored that leadership in our cause is shared by a man so widely loved and trusted as Senator Estes Kefauver.

But it is not by the candidates that this cause will be either won or lost. Democracy's price is the participation in it of the people it serves. And I join the President in urging every American, regardless of party, to register -- and to do it now, before it is too late. And I would add, too, that when you have to pay such heavy taxes and send your children to the Army to defend the right to vote -- to defend government by the consent of the governed -- then the most important business you have just now is politics and voting.

I read this morning that another political campaign was opened yesterday just 40 miles from here, before what the paper called "a crowd of more than 500 of the Grand Old Party elite."

I went to my dictionary. Here is what it says: "Elite -- a group or body considered or treated as socially superior."

## Campaign Statements - 7

Well! Joe Smith got it again!

I'm mighty glad to be here tonight to open the 1956 Democratic campaign before 10,000 Pennsylvanians, with the whole Nation as our invited guests.

This is my third visit to Harrisburg in the past two years. Each time the crowd gets larger, just as each month all across the country the tide of protest and of hope has risen. And that's why after generations of Republican rule, the people called on the Democrats to clean up Philadelphia; and that's why, after decades of Republican rule, the Governor of Pennsylvania is a vigorous, gifted young Democrat -- George Leader; and that's why the next United States Senator from Pennsylvania will be a Democrat -- a dedicated man of noble principle and demonstrated competence -- Joe Clark.

And, if I may claim a point of personal privilege, all these are reasons why your good friend is my campaign manager -- that wise and gentle Irishman, Jim Finnegan of Philadelphia.

And what is happening here in Pennsylvania is going on in State after State. Just this week the rising tide burst the dykes in the State of Maine.

Why is this? Why is President Eisenhower the first President in this century to lose control of Congress in his first elected term? I think it is because the fog is rising, the fog of half truths and amiable complacency, and people perceive that all is not well.

In the few minutes I have I want to tell you a little about Washington and the world and what is at stake, as I see it, in this 1956 election.

First, our Republican friends have been suggesting in one way or another that there are no real issues between the parties. And they contrive this remarkable transformation by talking -- now that it is election year again -- like Democrats.

Well, when someone says to me that the two parties' programs are just about the same, I say that so are two checks, signed by different people. The question is which one can be cashed and which one will bounce.

And I say that for 150 years, and today, and tomorrow, a check by the Democratic Party, written out to the American people, has been, is, and will be, worth its face value. We say what we mean. We mean what we say. And the record proves it.

### DEMOCRATIC YEARS

This is the 56th year of the 20th century. America has spent 28 of these years under Democratic government, 28 years under Republican.

During those Democratic years we abolished child labor, commenced unemployment insurance, old age retirement and minimum wages, made collective bargaining work, guaranteed bank deposits, financed home ownership, started public housing, put a floor under farm prices, set up TVA and REA, protected investors through the Securities Commission, and consumers through the Federal Trade Commission, and lifted the nation from the rubble of bankruptcy and despair to a great plateau of abundance.

And, most of all, it was under Democratic leadership that this nation met and defeated the greatest threats to individual liberty and national freedom in modern history -- from the Kaiser, Hitler, Tojo, and Stalin. And in those Democratic years we pressed toward ultimate peace and security through the League of Nations, the United Nations, the Marshall Plan, NATO, the Point Four Program.

And what did the Republicans do in their 28 years of leadership? Well, there were to be sure some accomplishments that must not be dismissed lightly. But they don't even compare with these I have mentioned. And that's why I say that to get things done America will once again turn to Democratic leadership.

The Republicans pose the issues of this campaign in terms of slogans -- "Peace, prosperity, progress."

I pose these issues in terms of facts -- the facts of America's unmet human needs, the facts of a revolutionary world in the hydrogen age.

Here are some of those facts:

In four years -- four years of wealth and abundance -- our government has let the shortage of schoolrooms and teachers get worse. It has done almost nothing to stop the slum cancer which today infects 10 million American dwellings. And juvenile delinquency which breeds in slums and poor schools has increased at a frightening rate.

We have done nothing to help the lot of the poor and of our older people, most all of whom must now subsist in a penury that gets worse as the cost of living climbs to the highest point in history.

We have done precious little to aid the fight against cancer, arthritis, mental disease and other crippling and killing diseases, or to make up the shortage of doctors and nurses.

We have watched the rise of higher costs and lower prices close on the hapless, helpless farmer whose only offense is that he has done his job too well.

And the small businessman, who built this country, is now being pushed to the wall.

Instead of turning our natural resources to the public good we have seen them raided for private profit.

And the facts of our progress toward peace are even more sobering. The Soviets have advanced, while we have fallen back, not only in the competition for strength of arms, but even in the education of engineers and scientists. Millions of people have moved more toward the false promises of communism than the true faith in freedom. And today there is doubt in the world about whether America really believes in the freedom which is our birthright and the peace which is our greatest hope.

Why has all this happened?

It has happened because for four years now we have had a government which neither fully understands nor wholly sympathizes with our human needs or the revolution that is sweeping the world.

The Republican administration took office on the pledge to make it a businessman's government. Well, that's one pledge they kept. President Eisenhower filled two out of every three top-ranking offices in his administration with men whose lives have been spent representing business, mostly big business.

Then -- partly by choice, partly by necessity -- President Eisenhower turned over to these men of limited interests and experience still more of the powers of government.

### BUSINESS INTERESTS

Where business interests are involved, these men who dominate the Eisenhower administration have not been bashful. If it is a matter of cutting taxes for the well-to-do, turning our natural resources over to private companies, chipping away at TVA with Mr. Dixon and Mr. Yates, the men in the cabinet and the White House have been highly effective.

But where human interests are concerned -- the interests of the young and the old, the workman, the farmer and the little fellow -- where the need is to wipe out poverty, or to build schools and hospitals, to clear slums, even to distribute the Salk vaccine -- there no one leads.

And when all the world read with dismay Mr. Dulles' boasts about how close he had brought us all to atomic war, the President of the United States said that he had not had time to read it.

I respect Mr. Eisenhower's good intentions. I have even been accused of undue moderation toward his administration. And certainly in Congress the Democratic Party has constantly rescued the President's program from his own party.

Everyone shares in sympathy for the circumstances which have created a part-time presidency. But we cannot understand -- and we will not accept -- turning the Government over to men who work full time for the wrong people or a limited group of people.

And the plain truth is that this situation would get worse not better in a continuation of this administration, because what influence the President has with his party in Congress has depended on his running again.

But from here on the future of Republican leaders will depend not on Eisenhower, but the Republican heir apparent, Mr. Nixon. And the Vice President seems to sail down wind no matter which way the wind blows.

These are stern facts. To ignore them is perilous. They are the reasons America's human needs go today unmet. Nor will they be met so long as the President is not master in his own house.

I firmly believe that America does not want to rest on dead center, that it wants -- fervently -- to move forward again to meet these needs. And I firmly believe that a leadership that will ask Americans to live up to the best that is in them will carry us across the threshold of the new America that now opens before us.

I think America wants to be called on to build the schoolrooms and train the teachers our children so desperately need.



I think America wants to be called onto clear away the slums and bring basic decency to millions of American families.

I think America wants to attack relentlessly the vast realm of human pain, and lift from those hit by serious accident or illness at least the added burden of grinding debt.

I think America wants to give to the lives of people when they grow old the dignity and meaning they yearn for and deserve.

As I have in the past, I will lay before you in as full detail as a campaign permits, proposals for meeting our needs. And we will talk soberly about their cost and ways and means of approaching them in a fiscally responsible manner.

Most of all we want a program for peace. Whatever we can do here at home will be meaningless unless the world is such that what we do can endure.

When we are spending \$40 billion a year for defense, when the peace the Republicans boast about looks more fragile by the moment, when the hydrogen bombs and the guided missiles are multiplying, when Communist influence is spreading among restless millions nearly free, when we can lose the cold war without firing a shot, then I say that most of all America is anxious about America.

It is not enough to pile pact on pact, weapons on weapons, and to totter dangerously from crisis to crisis. There must be a call to war against the poverty, the hunger, the nothingness in peoples' lives that draws them to communism's false beacon.

We must guide the hopes of mankind away from the blind alleys of extreme nationalism or bogus Communist internationalism. We must turn them instead to an ideal of partnership between the nations in which disputes are settled by conciliation, not violence, and in which the weapons of death are limited and controlled. We must make the skill and capital of the more advanced peoples work in partnership with the United Nations to remove the poverty, stagnant trade, inadequate resources, and all the other underlying pressures which drive nations to despair, envy and war.

We have never been and we will never be a nation content just to count today's blessings.

We have confidence in ourselves, confidence that we can build, what we have to build, grow as we have to grow, change as we must change, and play our full part in the making of a better tomorrow for ourselves and all mankind.

Our plan for 20th-century man is not just for his survival, but for his triumph.

If I were to put my political philosophy tonight into a single phrase, it would be this:

Trust the people. Trust their good sense, their decency, their fortitude, their faith. Trust them with the facts. Trust them with the great decisions. And fix as our guiding star the passion to create a society where people can fulfill their own best selves -- where no American is held down by race or color, by worldly condition or social status, from gaining what his character earns him as an American citizen, as a human being and as a child of God.

So I say let us be up and doing, probing ceaselessly for solutions of today's problems and for the new ones tomorrow will find on our doorstep. And if you share my view, the Democratic view, then this election is a summons to a sleeping giant, then I hope you will join us to make that summons clear and strong on election day.

### Virginia Rally

Following are verbatim extracts from a speech by Stevenson to a Democratic rally Sept. 15 at Walnut Hill, Va.:

A basic complaint about this administration that you encounter all around the country is that it so largely represents a single interest -- the big people, the rich and the powerful.

But I think our government should represent all the people and especially the little people, the ordinary people, the man in the street who has no one else save his elected officials, to represent him. The strong can look after themselves -- they have their lobbies and captive spokesmen galore. But the weak have no one. I say we need an administration which is interested in farmers, not just in surpluses; in the small businessman, not just in abstractions about free enterprise; in a young couple trying to get a house, not just in the re-discount rate.

I recall a remark by the chairman of the Civil Service Commission, who was asked at a Senate hearing whether his Commission was furnished any names of persons who are declared security risks, and he replied, "No, we don't have any names. We just deal

in numbers." Well maybe numbers are enough for the Civil Service Commission, but they are not enough for a people's government. And I say it's time for this administration to stop dealing in numbers and start thinking about people.

And a good place for it to start is with its own employees. The United States Government ought to be a model employer, fair, considerate, and generous. I know from my own experience as Governor of Illinois that it is not easy to attract good men and women to government, and no wonder. When I became Governor, I found that Civil Service had become no more than figure of speech, that the employees of the state had been exploited ruthlessly and the public payrolls loaded with political agents.

During my term we took the state police out of politics and put it under a merit system for the first time; we resumed examinations and strengthened the Civil Service in many ways; we extended the career idea to new areas of state government and we lifted salaries all along the line up to levels both of competition and self respect. I did everything in my power to improve the morale, the repute and security of state service so that it would be more attractive to good men and women.

And I am sure that the personnel objectives and standards of our great Federal services must be the very highest.

But what has happened in Washington in the last four years? Although those of us who had worked in our Federal government here in Washington were pained we were not surprised when during the 1952 campaign, the Republican leaders damaged callously, if unwittingly, the public reputation of the government service by their crusades against "bureaucracy" and what they like to call "government red tape."

If we winced at the wild Republican charges that the government was full of Communists and spies we were at least used to it.

But everyone, I think, was surprised when the Administration's war of nerves against its own employees continued after it took office. Secretary Weeks, you will recall, called civil servants, "Trojan horses left behind to try to hamper, hoodwink, and wreck the new Administration." And Attorney General Brownell struck a more sinister note which we were to hear often when he complained of inheriting "more than our share of odd characters, log rollers and misfits."

Since then the guerilla warfare on the people who serve the government from our responsible officials has continued.

### EXTENDED CIVIL SERVICE

The Administration, it is true, has increased the total number of employees covered by the Civil Service. But at the same time it has removed from Civil Service and in practical effect placed at the disposal of the Republican National Committee a large number of career jobs to which employees have advanced through years of outstanding service. Time and again it has forced men out of government employment just a few months short of retirement age. Thus it has penalized precisely the ability, initiative, and devotion to duty which it ought to encourage.

Worst of all, perhaps, the administration, for partisan political purposes, has pilloried innocent men and women under the pretense of conducting loyalty and security investigations.

The history of this shameless political trickery goes back, as I say, to the 1952 campaign. You remember they modestly called it a Great Crusade and the orators made so much noise about "Communists in Government" that when they got in office they evidently felt obliged to find some, even at the expense of innocent government workers. So they invented and popularized the term, "Security risk," pretended that all security risks were "subversives," and soon were able to boast -- just in time for the 1954 Congressional campaign, of course, -- that they had cleansed government of security risks by the bushel -- or was it half a bushel?

Government workers were summarily suspended without pay on the basis of vague charges of ambiguous offenses, made after inadequate sifting of unevaluated information by untrained personnel officers -- and then were forced to defend themselves at great expense before prosecutor-judges without being able to confront their accusers; and often without even knowing the real nature of the charges against them.

But soon a Congressional investigation disclosed that 90% of the persons the Administration claimed to have fired as "security risks" were never determined to be "security risks" at all; that

others were not even fired but were merely transferred from one agency to another; and that half of those who were fired as security risks had been hired by the Eisenhower Administration itself.

And finally the Administration admitted, after about three years of such devastating harassments, that not a single person was fired for being a Communist.

As the New York Times said a couple of months ago, "The Administration deliberately used misleading statistics about the program for political purposes. The political approach has damaged the President's asserted attempt to clear the air of 'un-reasoned suspicion.'" And now the Supreme Court has ruled that the Eisenhower Administration violated the intent of Congress by its application of the security law.

The abuse of the security policies under this administration during the last four years is a shameful chapter in American history which began in consecration to individual liberty. The lives of decent and devoted government servants lie buried in the wreckage it wrought. The wider consequences are incalculable. Government always needs good men worse than good men need government jobs, and now sorely needed men have deserted a government that played fast and loose with the Bill of Rights, and government has been unable to attract young people with new ideas. Government needs men of imagination and courage, men with fresh ideas and the vigor to fight for them. We don't want to turn our public servants into a collection of weak and spineless conformists.

#### RESTORE DIGNITY

What shall we do?

Let me say to you that a first objective of a Democratic Administration will be to restore dignity and honor and self-esteem to the public service. Those who prefer to serve the commonwealth rather than themselves deserve the respect of their fellow citizens. Under a Democratic Administration they will have that respect once again.

We must, of course, vigorously oppose legislation intended to override the Court decision -- we must hold the line where the Court has fixed it.

We mean to reconstruct the present security system and devise a program which will safeguard the state without degrading those who serve it. Already, I am glad to say, the AEC has begun to move in that direction, and even the Army is talking about it. But it is shocking that the necessary broader reforms in the security system have been so long delayed. Recently the New York City Bar Association proposed broad changes which represent a long step in the right direction. The continued hesitation of the Administration about this problem reveals all too clearly both its attitude toward the public service, and its reluctance to concede the wrongs it has committed.

The way a government treats its employees, it seems to me, says a lot about that government. A democracy should not treat them as game for partisan advancement or public ridicule, but as upright, decent, conscientious citizens devoted to the high calling, the unending task, of making the government better serve its proprietors, the people. It is in this spirit that they serve their country; it is in this spirit that the people you elect should serve them.

#### Washington Press Conference

Stevenson Sept. 17 told his first full dress press conference since his nomination that he "never doubted the verdict of the jury" that convicted Alger Hiss of perjury when Hiss denied giving U.S. secrets to the Communists. Stevenson said this was the same view he held four years ago. Stevenson said if this view "places me in disagreement with what President Truman says now, that is where the record must lie, must rest." Stevenson said it was not true that in 1946, while declining an offer to head the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, he had recommended Hiss for the job.

Stevenson also said:

INTEGRATION -- "I approve of what... (Tennessee) Gov. Clement and (Kentucky) Gov. Chandler have done with respect to (school) integration in these last two weeks.... I do approve of the rapidity with which they have taken measures through the use of the state police, I believe, and even some cases, the National Guard, to

secure and protect, to secure public order and protect the processes of integration. As to what I would have done as Chief Executive in addition to what the two governors did and local police officials, I can't say with any precision because I don't know what the precise facts were in each case, or whether or not anything more could have been done or should have been done."

DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS -- "I am sure it is even more important for me to have a Democratic-controlled Congress than it is for Mr. Eisenhower to have a Republican-controlled Congress because a large portion of the achievements of the Eisenhower Administration have been accomplished only with the help of a Democratic Congress."

FEDERAL RESERVE -- "On the basis of what information I have with respect to the working of the Federal Reserve System, I would suggest no legislation to alter the present position of the Federal Reserve System with respect to the Treasury Department and also with respect to the Open Market Committee."

SUEZ -- "It is no secret that I think the Administration has shown an alarming lack of understanding of these forces" (that "for better or for worse are writing history in Africa and in Asia"); and it is no secret that I don't think much of the recent conduct of our foreign affairs. I have expressed particular misgivings about our policies in the middle East, especially about Mr. Dulles' on-again off-again negotiations regarding the Aswan Dam. But this is an area of vital concern to the United States and our Allies, and I do not think that any comment or criticism by me at this crucial moment would serve a constructive purpose."

DRAFT -- "I, for one, am not content to accept the idea that there can never be an end to compulsory military service. My statement does not call for the immediate termination of the draft. It does not call for a reduction in the strength of our armed forces or in our ability to deal with any defensive contingency or in our determination to discharge our commitments under NATO or other pacts. What it does call for is a re-examination of our military policy in the light of the recent extraordinary changes in military technology. Nothing is more hazardous in military policy than rigid adherence to obsolete ideas. We need fresh thought about the structure of American defense as urgently as we need fresh thought about the great issues of foreign and domestic policy.... What we need is a balanced and highly skilled force capable of using our new weapons with maximum effectiveness against all varieties of aggression. The old-fashioned forces aren't going to be able to do the defense job effectively in the hydrogen age."

COST OF LIVING -- "I am not sure... whether this is an appropriate occasion to discuss the problem of inflation control, the methods that are traditional, like Reserve Bank requirements, consumer credit controls, commercial bank requirements and all that sort of thing, but it is a serious problem and becoming more so rapidly.... The problem basically is to distribute equitably the burden. I think that is one of the major difficulties and objections that I would have with the manner in which it has been conducted by the Administration."

ARMS FOR ISRAEL -- "I have expressed my views as to the -- enabling Israel to -- as to the maintenance of a balance of power in the Middle East on many occasions going back, I think, now almost two years, certainly two years. I don't know what I can add to what I have already said."

GERMAN UNIFICATION -- "Obviously the unification of Germany is an objective that should be the major concern of everyone interested in Germany and anxious for its future, and the resolution of the dangers and the tensions that are created by the present artificial division that exists. The method of how that is to be done in view of Russian intransigence is, of course, the issue, the problem. I don't -- I have some ideas about it at that -- well, I am afraid I shall not be able to discuss them at this time."

LABOR -- "I would certainly disagree that labor is having it very good in a National Labor Relations Board which has been as unbalanced as this one has since the advent of this Administration. As far as employment is concerned, obviously it is very high. There are pockets of unemployment all around the country, as we also know. While they exist, I don't think labor is having it very good."

TIDELANDS -- "I believe the Congress has acted on tidelands and in addition to that, the Supreme Court has sustained the constitutionality, I believe, of the act of Congress, and I would have thought that was the end of the matter."

## Capitol Quotes

• **ELLIS ISLAND** -- "The General Services Administration has put up the sign 'for sale' on Ellis Island. That sign should be removed. Over 40 million immigrants have passed through its gates.... Their contributions to our welfare were incalculable.... Ellis Island should, therefore, be set apart as a 'shrine,' a national park service dedicated to the immigration that so enriched our land.... It would be a pity if Ellis Island were sold for private or commercial purposes. The President should order the sale discontinued." -- Rep. Emanuel Celler (D N.Y.) Sept. 17 release.

• **SUEZ CRISIS** -- "The failure of the recent Cairo talks and the continuing crisis over the Suez Canal is causing considerable alarm in diplomatic circles.... It is important that we stand by the British and French in this conflict.... Every step short of war should be taken to keep the Suez Canal open. The next logical step appears to be the referring of the entire matter to the United Nations." -- Sen. Frederick G. Payne (R Maine) Sept. 20 newsletter.

• **VANISHING SHORELINE** -- "The National Park Service, charged with conserving our priceless natural heritage...is watching our rising population pressures with rising apprehension. Particularly is it concerned at this time with our disappearing shoreline. From Maine to Mexico, the areas still available for public recreation are disappearing almost hourly, as commerce and residential developments expand. There are 3,700 miles of shoreline in this area, but only 240 miles are today owned by the people as a whole.... As late as 1935...the National Park Service found plenty of unspoiled seashore, suitable for public recreation, on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts. It recommended at that time that 12 major strips, with 437 miles of beach, be preserved as national areas.... But only one of the 12 was actually acquired as a national seashore. All others save one have long since gone into private and commercial developments.... 'An undeveloped area 30 miles long, recommended as a national seashore in 1935, could have been purchased then for \$260,000, or about \$9,000 a mile,' the Park Service sadly recalls. 'Today, only nine miles remain undeveloped, and they would bring \$110,000 a mile....'" -- Rep. Harold C. Ostertag (R N.Y.) Sept. 20 newsletter.

• **THE SCIENCES** -- "In Washington...I found a great concern about the boys and girls who decide not to finish high school.... Industry today needs skilled workers...the country has barely enough trained and educated people now in electronics, production, construction; half the firms surveyed by the Labor Department report shortages of research scientists and engineers.... I believe the 85th Congress will consider some sort of program to help students who yearn for careers in science." -- Rep. Earl Wilson (R Ind.) Sept. 17 newsletter.

• **TAXES** -- "During the political campaign this Fall one will hear many promises about cutting taxes even though most of the statements blithely ignore the problem of government fiscal responsibility. Personally I hope the Congress can reduce the federal tax burden next year but the House and Senate can only do it honestly by relating government receipts to expenditures.... To cut taxes legitimately the Congress must hold down what Uncle Sam spends.... This year President Eisenhower had a balanced budget only because of good management of our government affairs and the nation's general prosperity." -- Rep. Gerald R. Ford Jr. (R Mich.) Sept. 13 newsletter.

• **GAS BILL** -- "Rumors around Washington are that some ardent supporters of the President are seeking the active and financial support of the oil and gas people for the Fall campaign. The O and G people are supposed to have been told that if such support is forthcoming, the President will sign the gas bill as soon as it gets to the White House next year. I would advise the O and G people to be sure to read and understand exactly what is going on. In the first place, it should be pointed out that the phrase 'as soon as it gets to the White House' is the tricky part of the language.... It would only require a change of four votes to defeat the bill in the House. This would mean that the bill would never reach the White House.... The truth is there is a propaganda campaign going on today against the oil and gas industry. The present Senate lobbying hearings are furnishing a good stage from which to criticize the oil and gas people at the produce level.... The propaganda campaign will not only hurt the economy of the oil and gas people...but it will hurt every business in our section of the country including the farmers and ranchers." -- Rep. Walter Rogers (D Texas) Sept. 14 newsletter.





## The Week In Congress

**Voting Participation** Congressmen voted on nearly nine of every 10 roll calls in 1956. Republican Members had a slightly higher average of Voting Participation than Democrats, 89 percent to 87 percent. Generally, Senators and Representatives involved in primary campaigns during the session compiled the lowest scores. For instance, Estes Kefauver (Tenn.) had the low Senate score of 49 percent participation as a result of his Presidential primary activities. A Senatorial primary participant, Alexander Wiley (Wis.), scored 68 percent, the lowest score among GOP Senators. (Page 1123)

### Trade Policy

College professors and economists appearing before a House subcommittee studying U.S. trade policies agreed that liberalized trade programs would benefit both this country and the rest of the world. But representatives of specific industries said their industries were hard hit by imports from abroad produced by cheaper labor. (Page 1135)

### D.C. Schools

Administrators and teachers in the District of Columbia schools system trekked to the witness stand before a special House subcommittee seemingly bent on showing that racial integration in the schools wasn't a good idea. Most teachers and administrators agreed that integration had been carried out too quickly, that it had pushed under-educated Negroes into classrooms with more advanced white students, thus forcing the educational level of the school down. The president of the District's Board of Education said the integration program would have succeeded better if it had taken place more gradually and children had been given achievement tests before they were placed in integrated grades, not after. (Page 1135)

### 3,273 Lobbyists

Lobbyists who have registered in the last 10 years outnumber current Congressmen better than 6-1. Official figures show there are 3,273 registered lobbyists compared to 528 Members of Congress. There may be less lobbyists than that actually operating; then again there may be more. The lobby law itself makes it hard to keep track since there is nothing in the law that says the government must be notified when a lobbyist stops lobbying. If he registered for that purpose his name is carried on the lobby registration rolls year after year. Other persons lobbying for specific information do not register at all on the claim they are just out to educate lawmakers on a specific issue, not to lobby for it. (Page 1128)

### Renominated After Prison Term

Rep. Thomas J. Lane could become the first person elected to Congress after serving a prison term. Lane won renomination in the Massachusetts Democratic primary over five opponents. He recently was released from prison after being convicted of income tax evasion, but polled double the number of votes given his nearest rival in the traditionally Democratic district. (Page 1137)

### Court Vacancy

Will President Eisenhower name a successor to retiring Associate Supreme Court Justice Sherman Minton before Nov. 6? The odds are against it, but the question suggests some interesting possibilities. Justice Minton is leaving the Court Oct. 15, which means the President could make a recess appointment anytime before Jan. 3 when the 85th Congress will convene. Such an appointment, however, then must be submitted to the Senate to secure confirmation. If the President were to lose his bid for re-election to Democrat Adlai E. Stevenson, would the Senate confirm Mr. Eisenhower's appointee? In the history of the 122 Supreme Court appointments, there have been seven instances in which Presidents whose parties had been defeated in November nevertheless attempted to fill vacancies on the Court before their opponents took over. (Page 1129)

### Campaign Statements

Where possible CQ will reprint texts of major campaign statements and speeches of Republican and Democratic candidates for President and Vice President until election day. Some statements of their supporters also may be included from time to time. (Page 1138)